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THE

ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

SRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Vakil, High Court, N. W. P.



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PREFACE.

Since the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that has followed in its train, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Among the various blessings which our benign Government has conferred upon us, none can be greater in value or usefulness than this revival of Sanskrit. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language, with that depth and accuracy, as it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brâhmanas, the Upanishads &c. it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pânini. The Grammar is reckoned as one of the Vedâṅgas, or the helps to the study of the Vedas; and is unquestionably one of the most important of the Vedâṅgas. The four principal sūtras of Pânini contain within themselves almost all that a student needs to enable him to understand the language of the Vedas.

Not only is this excellent treatise of Pânini necessary for those who are desirous of learning the ancient Sanskrit literature, but a knowledge of it is also necessary for understanding the modern Sanskrit, which is modelled on the rules laid down by that great Grammarian, whose aphorisms are being constantly quoted in all Vedic commentaries, and classical author and law books.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pânini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:— "The Grammatical system borrowed by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pânini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of grammatical rules."

Each of these sūtras is studiously brief, but then this brevity is its greatest recommendation. That, which appears to many obscurity and ambiguity in the sūtras, vanishes before the clear and exhaustive explanations of

the commentators ; and shows the extreme skill and wonderful ingenuity of the author of these aphorisms. These sūtras, therefore, which though at first sight may appear difficult and repulsive, if once mastered, will enable a student to know and *remember* more of the Sanskrit Grammar, than he can ever learn through other methods, with twice that labour. Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of our English reading countrymen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, I have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained by the Commentators Jayāditya and Vāmana in their well-known book, called Kāśikā vṛtti and issue one chapter every month. Though, it is not a close translation of the whole of Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. I have closely followed on the foot-steps of those authors, translating their commentary, explaining it where necessary ; and in short, making my work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The translation of Sanskrit texts, especially those like Kāśikā, is always beset with great difficulties, even for the masters of Sanskrit learning. For a beginner, like the present translator, those difficulties were many and great, and I am fully conscious that here and there, I may have failed to grasp the full drift of the arguments of the authors of Kāśikā. But on the whole, I have spared no pains to render this work as free from errors as lay in my humble power. I shall feel much obliged to those gentlemen, who will be good enough to point out any errors, or suggest any improvements, so that I may be benefited by their advice.

I must here acknowledge the great assistance I have derived from the well-known translation of Laghu Kaumudī by Dr. Ballantyne ; Mr. Iengar's Guide to Pāṇini ; Professor Apte's Sanskrit Composition as well as from Dr. Kielhorn's Paribhāṣenduśekhara. I have freely quoted from these authors and absorbed their rendering into my own, without distinguishing them by marks of quotation.

When I first undertook the translation of Pāṇini, I had thought that the work when completed, will not occupy more than 1200 pages. But from the present sample it will be seen, that that estimate was far below the mark. The complete translation, together with the Introduction, Glossary and the Indices, which I intend to add, will take up nearly double as much space *i.e.*, nearly 2000 pages or more. I have, however, kept the price of the book the same, namely, Rs. 14 (payable by two instalments), for subscribers, who have already got their names registered, or who will do so within the 31st January 1892, and Rs. 20 for non-subscribers.

14th November, 1891.

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU.

THE
ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३न् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is the first sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or 'the key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a prescriptive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a direct-influencing influence over other rules,' and अपतिदेश or 'extended analogy.'

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अलृक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । इयवरट् । लृक् । जनकणनच् ।
अदृक् । जवगङ् । खफछठयचटतच् । कपय् । श्वसर् । इल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the avā-mūliya and the upadh māniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as लृ, कृ, रृ &c., are non-efficient or ह्रस्व. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is used for marking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with the next efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the next efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, इल् means all the consonants, एओङ् means all soft unaspirate consonants, कृ means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically

the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras अच् and उच् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the च् of the former or with the उच् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अच् and उच् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā :—

“The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite.”

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अच् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the च् of the first sūtra and that the term उच् is formed by means of the उच् of the subsequent sūtra.

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ओ३म् पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I. CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैच्चां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानाञ्च ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛddhi.

This defines the word vṛddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛddhi, āt and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as महा + आशयः = महाशयः. Here हा has two mātrās and not four. So also in खट्वैकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ऐ has only two, not four, mātrās.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vṛddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः 'body' ऐच्छिकः "optional", from इच्छा "option", औपगुः "the son of Upagu", from the v. उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu". Similarly in राज्ञीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛddhi. The word vṛddhi occurs in sūtras like सिन्धुवादिपरमौपदेश्ये (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the b. get vṛddhi substitute before the affix सिन्धु of the Parasmaipada".

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैच्चां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानाञ्च ॥

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moves"; एति "he comes", गच्छति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots गृह्, ह, and उल् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third[person]singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निदिगुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निङ् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंतया (इह्यषा गुणेन वा) सिष्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and li long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikah" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + वृत्ति = ने + वृत्ति = नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi; there the word "ikah" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—निदिगुणः (VII. 3. 82) वृजेईदिः (VII. 2. 114) प्रगन्तलघुपथ &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋश्चस्वृताम् (VII. 4. 11) ऋश्चोऽङिगुणः (VII. 4. 16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word āṅga or base, जुति च (VII. 3. 83), सार्वधातुकार्षधातुकयोः (VII. 3. 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long आ, ए, or the diphthongs and इ, or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उन्मिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शप् + तिप् = ग्लै + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of इ being ए, there would be ग्लै + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter इ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into ए, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उन्म् + इता = उन्मिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant न्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, (these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः "sky", न्याः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter द्यौ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter द्यौ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, द्यौ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + द्यौ + स = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word प्रथित्, था is the substitute. The था is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पथित् and not of इ. Thus we have न्याः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ the substitute of tyad, &c.," Here अ takes the place of इ. Thus we have तद्, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न चातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , चातु-लोपे ,

आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

इति ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तत्त्व लोपो बलिनार्द्धधातुके तदार्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तच्च वे
[एवञ्चो धातुस्तत्त्वे न भवतः ॥

4. The Guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided.

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra iks were to be gunated or vriddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called शिप्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप्, तः &c., (called तिह्) are sârvadhâtuka; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination ह्यमि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (जृह्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the ह् of जि becomes gunated and we have जेह्यमि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोचुवः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोचूव. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोचूव, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix षप् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोचूव + षप्. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix षप् (III. 1. 134) the व् of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the *ya* is dropped and we have लोचू + ष. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix षप्, a portion of the root, namely, व, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोचुवः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूम् + इता = लो + इता = लविता. Here the indicatory letter इ has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेह् the affix विह् is added to the root रिह् "to injure." Thus रिह् + विह् (III. 2. 75.) = रिह् + व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिह् + ° (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix इ is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिह्. Thus we have रेह् + ° = रेह् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेह् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vriddhi as in रोहसीदि, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." इ + रोह + दि (III. 1. 22). रोह + विह् = रोह + वि (II. 4. 74). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix *त्* causes the elision of *व*, a portion of the root. The *guna* substitution however takes place, and we have *रोरो+इ+ति* (VII. 3. 94) = *रोरवीति*, the augment *इ* being added by *sûtra* VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikah" of the previous *sûtra* is understood in this *sûtra* also. The *ik* letters only are not gunated or vriddhied before such *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in *अभाजि* the equation is as follows:—*अ+भञ्ज्+चिप्* = *अ+भञ्+इ* (VI. 4. 33). Here the *ârdhadhâtuka* affix *चिप्* has caused a portion of the root *भञ्ज्*, to be suppressed, *viz.*, the letter *ञ* has been elided. But nevertheless the *अ* of *भञ्* is vriddhied before *चिप्* because *अ* is not included in the *pratyâhâra ik*; and the exception contained in the present *sûtra* only applies to the *ik* letters. So also *रञ्ज्+वञ्* (III. 3. 18) = *रञ्+अ* (VI. 4. 27.) = *रागः* (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

कृदित्तिच ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-कित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

इति ॥ कृदितिचे वे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुवन्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused *guna* or *vriddhi*, does not do so, when it has an indicatory *क्* or *इ*.

Thus the past participle terminations *क्त* and *क्तवु* are *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused *guna*, but as their indicatory letter *क्* is *इत्*, the real terminations being, *त* and *तवत्*, they do not cause *guna*. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the *ik* of the root is not gunated. Thus with the root *चि* "to collect" we have *चितः* or *चितवान्*, *भू*, "to hear," *भुतः*, *भुतवान्*; *भी*; "to fear" *भीतः*, *भीतवान्*.

Similarly the terminations *क्यप्* *केलिन*, *क्युप्* *कानप्*, *क्यवा*, *क्तिन्*, &c., are all *क्तिन्* terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being *क्*,' the real affixes being *व*, *एलिन*, *वस्* &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not gunated. Thus we have from *भृ* "to bear" *भृत्*, from *भिद्* "to pierce" *भिक्षिन*.

The terms *क्तिन्* &c., of this *sûtra* are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of *निमित्त* or cause, that is the *guna* or *vriddhi* which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is *क्तिन्*, *गित्*, *कित्*. Thus all *ârdhadhâtuka* and *sâravadhâtuka* affixes cause gunation of the *final ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the *Sâravadhâtuka* affix *शप्* (*अ*) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = *भो+अ + ति* = *भवति* "he is." Similarly *sâravadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes cause the *guna* substitution of the short *penultimate ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus *बुद् + शप् + तिप्* = *बोधति*.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present *sûtra* were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicative k, g or ñ, would not cause the guṇa substitution of the vowel ik immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + क्त = चित् : “collected” it would not apply to भि + क्त; there would be nothing to bar the guṇa substitution of the penultimate इ of भि. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus भि + क्त = भिन्न : “broken.”

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जित्पु : “victorious,” in which the affix ग्स्तु has an indicative ग्. Thus जि + ग्स्तु = जित्पु : “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also स्यास्तु : “durable,”

Similarly the affix, अङ् is a ङित् affix, the real suffix being अ; the ङ being merely indicative. Therefore when अङ् is added to a root, there is no guṇation or vriddhi. Thus we have from विद् “to know”. विद्ः

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sârvadhâtuka affixes that are not marked by an indicative ए, are treated as ङित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is ङित्, and we have चिनुत : “they two collect,” similarly चिन्वन्ति, “they collect,” मृज् + क्त = मृष्ट : “cleansed,” मृजन्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term *ik*” is understood in this sūtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् “to desire” takes the affix णिङ्; of this affix the letters ण् and ङ् are indicative, the real affix is इ. The force of ण् is to cause vriddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicative इ does not prevent such vriddhi, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामि + अते = कामे + अते = कामयते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahâbhâshya, the verb मृज् optionally takes vriddhi, before kit or *ñit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमार्जन्ति “they rub.” Here in this sūtra there is prohibition of the guṇa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicative इ of the verbal tense affixes i.e., लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of ङित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुद् of लिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicative क.” There would have been no necessity of making यासुद् a कित्, if लिङ् were a ङित्, but the very fact of making यासुद् a कित् indicates by implication or is शापक that the final ङ of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes ङित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवन् “he collected” (अचिन् + लङ् = अचिनु + अन् = अचिनो + अन् = अचितवन्.)

दीधी वेवीटान् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटान्, (गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेवीटिचवे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. The *guna* and *vṛiddhi* substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of *didhī* 'to shine,' and *vevi* 'to go,' and of the augment called *इद्*.

The roots *दीधी* and *वेवी* never take the *guna* or *vṛiddhi* substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix *ण्वल्* generally causes *vṛiddhi* substitution when added to any root; and so the affix *ल्युट्* causes *guna*. But these affixes when applied to the verbs *didhī* and *vevi*, never cause *vṛiddhi* or *guna* substitution. As *आसीधी* + *ण्वल्* = *आसीधी* + *अक* (VII. 1. 1) = *आसीध्यकः* (VI. 1. 77). So also *आसीधी* + *ल्युट्* = *आसीधी* + *अन* (VII. 1. 1) = *आसीध्यन्म्*. Similarly from *वेवी* we have *आवेव्यन्म्* and *आवेव्यकः*. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take *guna*. Thus *असीधेत्* (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and *असीधयुः* (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take *guna* in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment *इद्* the real affix is *इ*. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the *वल्* class, *i.e.*, all consonants except *य* (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is *स्यामि*; this when added to the root *चर्* "to move" requires an intermediate *इ*, and thus we have the form *चरिष्यामि*, 'I shall walk.' This *इ* is never *gunated* or *vṛiddhied*, though according to the general rule, coming before an *ārdhahātuka* termination, it ought to have been *gunated*.

The augment *इद्*, could under no circumstances have taken *vṛiddhi*, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the *guna* substitute of *इद्*.

ह्रस्वाऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥७॥ पदानि॥ हल्, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरङ्गभिरव्यवहिताः शिज्योच्चारिता हल् संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः इति ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word *sanyoga*. The *sūtra* consists of three words, *जः*, the plural of the *pratyāhāra* *हल्*, denoting all the consonants, *अनन्तराः* means "without any separation or space" and *संयोगः* which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the *sūtra* means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as in the word *कुक्कुटः*, "cock." The word "*sanyoga*" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छ्रं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels य and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

This defines the word *anunāsika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुख + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word *āvachana* meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunāsika*. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (*anunāsika*).' Thus अँ, आँ. In the Vedas, the particle आङ् is *anunāsika*. As अत्र अँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पर्षि शुने गेशीर अँ उम्रेपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, ञ, ए, न and म are also *anunāsika*. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ञ by the palate and nose, ए by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ल are also nasalised and are then called *anunāsika*. The term *anunāsika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, ख, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *क्षकारलृकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called *savarṇa* or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word *savarṇa* or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words:—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मुखौ, 'head,' 4. दन्ता: 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip. ✕

2. ईषस्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all *vivṛita*.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The ābhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to ābhyantara prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmanas, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svāsa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into 1. Aspirated (mahāprāṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated Thus:—अ, अ, अँ, अँ, अँ, आ, आ, आँ, आँ, आँ, अ३, अ३, अ३, अ३, अ३, अ३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ए have also eighteen forms. The letter लृ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet the आस्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and ॠ, which though having different आस्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and ॠ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होद् + लकारः = होद्लकारः; here ऋ and ॠ have coalesced in long ऋ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः (VI. 1. 10)

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचटत and ए whose prayatna is the same but whose āsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa. Then in words like तर्षा and तर्षुम्, the ए would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of एर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous एर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between **ह** and the palatals, and **च** and **श**, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in **अरुह्यो-ति**, the **श** would be elided before **च** by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाञ् ऋलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अञ्ज्ञानौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarna relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus **ह** and **श** have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savarna. Thus in **वण्डहस्त, हृदिशतित्तं** &c., the letters **च** and **ह** in the first example, and **ह** and **श** in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if **श** and **ह** be held homogeneous, then **विपाश + अण्** (IV. 3. 53) = **विपाश् + अण्** (VI. 4. 148; here **श** would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have **वैपाश** : "belonging to vipāśā or born therein." So also in **आनडुहं** "ox-skin," the **ह** would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with **अ**.

ईदूदेइद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्
द्विवचनम् , प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्तं द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in **ई** or **ऊ** or **ए** is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in **ई** (**ईत्**), **ऊ** (**ऊत्**), or **ए** (**एत्**). Thus:—**कवी इमौ** "these two poets," so also **वायू इति** "two winds;" **माले इति** "these two garlands." **पचते इति** "they two cook" **पचथे इति** "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final **इ** of **कवी** and the initial **इ** of **इमौ** ought to have coalesced into an **ई**, but it is not so, because **कवी** is the nominative dual of **कवि**.

Why do we say ending in *i*, *u* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are pragrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be pragrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (I. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vart: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also हृत्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोहसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vartika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस्, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदस्: सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेतः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the *m* of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by *m*, of whatever number they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी अश्वाः "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the *m* of any other word will not be pragrihya. As समी + अत्र = सम्यत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter *m*"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुकेऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by *m* but by the क of अकम् (V. 3. 71) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called श्रे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती .

Of this substitute श्रे, the initial श्र is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a prāgrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this prāgrihya, is given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases is, स्वेइति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः , एकाच् , अनाङ् । (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

इति: ॥ एकआसावच्च एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्वर्जितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Prāgrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are prāgrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र. “Oh, Indra” उ उत्तिष्ठ “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not prāgrihya, e. g. प्र in प्राग्मये त्वमीरय .

आङ् which is not a prāgrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of near “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come,’ अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit receptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a prāgrihya, as आ एवं किञ्चासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्गये वाचनीरय. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final अ् in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi ; as चकाराच्च.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओत्सन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As अहो अयेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्थे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति, इति शब्दे एनार्थे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायाविति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

In āśkā literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता ग ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Śākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes :—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāṣhārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention ; pujārtham, as the word Kāśyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उजः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उजः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उजः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उज् before इति, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज् meaning उ . According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उज् is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ऊँ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊँ, (शाकल्य०, उज्जः, प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्ज इतावन्नापे ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञकश्च ॥

18. The particle ऊँ replaces उज्ज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उज्ज is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ū*. Thus ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति.

In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईदन्तमूहन्तश्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *up* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or रा, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू 'body,' we have तनू + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with न and we have तनू + ऊ = तनू "in the body," as, अध्यर्था मामकीतनू (for मामक्या तन्वा). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वा. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी 'on the Gauri,' as सोमो गौरी अधिष्ठितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *ī* and *ū* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long *ī* and *ū* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (ā) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रिया अग्ना भवति य ईद्राय सुतसोमो इवाशन् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here *ī* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति.

The word **अर्थ** is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of **वाप्याम्** "in the well" and **अश्व** "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get **वापी + अश्व**. Here, no doubt, the word **वापी** is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of **वापी** has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, **वाप्यश्वः** "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (*pūrva-pada*); for words like **वापी** &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like **गौरी**, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाध्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा , धा , घु , अदाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकृपाश्चकारो धातवो धारुणौ च द्वौ, शब्देभौ वर्जयित्वा पुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of **dā** 'to give' and **dhā** 'to place,' are called **ghu**.

This defines the word **ghu**. Four verbs have the form of **श**, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of **धा**; they are called **घु**. The **ghu** verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The **घु** verbs are the following:—**दुशाम्** "to give," as **प्रणिशति**; **शप्** "to give," as, **प्रणिशता**; **हृ** "to cut," as, **प्रणिहति**; **हृङ्** "to pity" as, **प्रणिह्यते**, **दुधाम्** "to place" as. **प्रणिधति**, **धे** "to feed" as, **प्रणिधयति**.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being **घु**, the **n** of **प्रनि** is changed into **ण** by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly **शप्** "to cut" and **हृङ्** "to clean" not being called **घु**, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus **श + क्त** = **शतं** 'what is cut,' as, **शतं बहिः**. So also **अवशतं** "washed" as, **अवशतं मुखं** "a bright face." But with **श** "to give," &c. **श + क्त** = **हृ + त** (VII. 4. 46) = **हन्तः** "given;" so also we have **प्र + क्त** = **प्रतन्** (VII. 4. 47). The word **घु** occurs in *sūtra* VI. 4. 66, &c. The word **dīp** includes also **daip** by the *paribhāṣā* given under III. 4. 19, **हृ** changed into **आ** by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरादिष्व अन्तद्वय एकस्मिन्नपि कार्यं भवति ॥

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an *atideśa sūtra* and consists of four words, **आदि** "beginning" **अन्त** "end," **वत्** "like," **एकस्मिन्** "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix **वत्** has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udātta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have अतव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last á has the accent, which á represents the affix अन्.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of यम् class. Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name बृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अन् is employed instead, and the form is सभासन्नयनः.

तरप्तमपै चः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपै, चः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येनौ प्रत्ययो च संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called च.

This sūtra defines च affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प in them being इम्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति ,

इत्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञौ भवतीति चक्रव्यम्, समासकम् यथेयम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letter उ and ड of वतु and डति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वतु are generally compound pronouns, e. g. तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix डति, e. g. कति "how many," ताति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as भुरि "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals" technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pūraṇa pratyayas are like ड् (V. 2. 48), म् (V. 2. 49), यक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh, पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशुर्षः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमशुर्षः कृतः = अर्द्धपंचमशुर्षः the taddhita affixes डम् and अम् required by V. 1. 15 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyā and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अम् and डम् (V. 1. 26). The word शुर्ष takes both these affixes in the sense of "being"

bought with." Thus शौर्विकम् and और्वम् both mean "bought with a measure called śūpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपञ्चमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyā.

अन्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word अन्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्ठन्ति, पञ्च गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति ष ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, ष, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the sankhyās ending with the affix dati are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

कतवतु निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-कवतु, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तवतु क्तवतु क्तवतु प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishthā.

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This defines the 'nishṭha' affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त्, तवत्, the क and उ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory उ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that n forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratyahāra (उ, ऋ, ॠ), the affix डीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhā occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,
सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदिष्वेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्वे 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' स्वत् 'other,' स्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' स्यद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'he, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदस् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अपर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior, subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्वर्ग when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरान्, सर्वस्मान्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभयान्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उपक्रौ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two सर्व in the above list, namely सर्वन् and सर्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give one सर्वन् only and not the other, and say that both have anudātta accent. The word सम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person)'. Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanāma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्वे 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशां समासो दिक्समासो द्विगुपठिते समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

28. The above words are optionally sarvanāma when they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule see sūtra 29), in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrīhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e. g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in अ, i. e. उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word विक्र, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrīhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrīhi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrīhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrīhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrīhi but not exact bahuvrīhi.

The quasi-bahuvrīhi, or analogical bahuvrīhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrīhi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrīhi. Thus एक + एक = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrīhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrīhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrīhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrīhi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' इक्षिणश्क्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrīhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus इक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarva-nāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarva-nāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound **प्रियविश्व** meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrīhi compound of **प्रिय** 'beloved,' and **विश्व** 'all,' which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have **प्रियविश्वाय**, though the dative singular of **विश्व** by itself is **विश्वस्मै**, like other pronominals. So also **प्रियोभयाय** "to him who is beloved of both." So also **द्वयन्याय**, **त्रयन्याय** &c.

Similarly in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix **अकच्**, but the general affix **कन्**. As, **स्वस्वपितृको**, **मत्स्वपितृको** (V. 3. 70).

Though the word bahuvrīhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrīhi again in this sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrīhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrīhi. Thus the words **वस्त्रान्तरा** and **वसनान्तरा** are bahuvrīhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, **वस्त्रान्तरावसनान्तरा** : ॥

तृतीयांसमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वोदीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वोदीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words *sarva* &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritīyā tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word **मासपूर्व** is a compound of **मास** and **पूर्व** = **मासेनपूर्व** meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word *māsa* is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be **मासपूर्वाय**, though the dative of **पूर्व**, when standing by itself, is **पूर्वस्मै**; so also **संवत्सरपूर्वाय** !

The tritīya-samāsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special tritīyā-samāsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words *pūrva*, *sadriśa*, *sama*, &c." and has not reference to the tritīyā-samāsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases ह्यका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pūrva is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्वाय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanāma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्णे 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva

compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्षाश्रमेतर may be either वर्षाश्रमेतराः or ०तरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः+ कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

**प्रथमचरमतयात्पार्द्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-
चरम-तय-अल्प-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा
भवन्ति ॥**

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prâtipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

**पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-
याम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' utara 'north,' अपरा 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a sarvanāma, as, दक्षिणा इमे गायकाः 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prāptavibhāsā.

That there is a 'specification' (niyama), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (avadhi), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (avasthā) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (dakshina), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the Himālayā with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the Vindhya mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north of the Vindhya range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वोः, अग्रे or अग्राः, परे or पराः) दक्षिणे or दक्षिणाः; उत्तरे or उत्तराः; अपरे or अपराः; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-

आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेत् ज्ञाति धनं संज्ञारूपेण वर्त्तते ॥

35. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally sarvanāma before the affix jas.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanāma, in every number and case; as it has been

numerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is he nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातव्यो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'.

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहि-

र्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वोदीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरनित्येत्च्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने
स्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा डित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेऽपसंव्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanāma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandala, and other low castes.' अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e. g., ग्रामयोरन्तरे सति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart:—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an inditatory ड (डित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर-आदि, निपातम्,

अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Gaṇapāṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' कथक्

ightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' **ऋते** 'except, without,' **सपत्** 'at the same time, at once,' **आरात्** 'near, far from, directly.' **पृथक्** 'separately, apart,' **ह्यस्** 'yesterday,' **श्वस्** 'to-morrow,' **दिवा** 'by day,' **रात्रौ** 'by night in the night,' **सायम्** 'at eve,' **विरम्** 'long, long since, a long time,' **मनाक्** 'a title,' **ईषत्** 'slightly, a little,' **शश्वत्** 'ever,' **जोषम्** 'gladly,' **तुष्णीम्** 'silently,' **बहिस्** 'outside,' **अविस्** 'below, without, outside.' **समया** 'near,' **निकषा** 'near, hard, close y,' **स्वयम्** 'of one's self,' **वृथा** 'in vain,' **नक्तम्** 'at night, by night,' **नम्** 'negative article, not,' **हेतौ** 'for this reason, by reason of,' **इह्वा** 'truly, really' **हेह** 'exclamation,' **अज्ञा** 'evidently, truly,' **सामि** 'half,' **वत वत** 'enclitic like, as 3râhmanavat, priestly,' **सनत् सनात्** 'perpetually,' **उपधा** 'division,' **तिरस्** 'crooked-y, awry, over,' **अन्तरा, अन्तरेण** 'except, without' **उद्योक, योक** 'long,' **कम्** 'expletive article,' **शम्** 'case,' **सना** 'perpetually,' **सहसा** 'suddenly, hastily,' **विना** 'without,' **नाना** 'variously,' **स्वस्ति** 'greeting, peace,' **स्वधा** 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' **अनम्** 'enough,' **वषट्** 'exclamation,' **औषट्, औषट्** (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' **अन्यत्** 'again, moreover, otherwise.' **अस्ति** 'being present,' **उपांशु** 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' **क्षमा** 'patience, pardon,' **विहायसा** 'aloft in the air,' **शोषा** 'at night or in the evening,' **मृषा, मिथ्या** 'falsely,' **मुधा** 'in vain,' **पुरा** 'formerly,' **मिथो** or **मिथस्** 'mutually, together,' **प्रायस्** 'frequently, almost,' **मुहुस्** 'again, repeatedly' **उवाहकम्** or **उवाहिका** 'at the same time,' **आर्यहन्** 'violently' **अभीहणम्** 'repeatedly,' **साकम्** or **सार्धम्** 'with' **नमस्**, 'reverence,' **हेरुक्** 'without,' **धिक्** 'fie!' **अथ** 'thus,' **प्रताम्** 'with fatigue,' **प्रशान्** 'alike,' **रतान्** 'widely,' **ना, नाड** 'do not.'

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So, also the words formed by the affixes *ktvâ* *tosun*, *kasun*, by the *kṛit* affixes ending in *म्* or *ण*, *ऐ*, *औ* or *औ*, and the *avyayibhâva* compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with *तसिञ्* (V. 3. 7) and ending with *पाशप्* (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with *शस्* (V. 4. 42) and ending with *समासांतः* (V. 4. 68), by the affixes *कृत्वसुच्*, *सुच्*, *आप्* and *याल्* by the affixes having the sense of the affix *ञि*, or by the affixes *अम्* or *आम्*, *तसि* or *वति*, *न* or *नाञ्* are also indeclinables.

The words called *nipâta* will be given under *sûtras*, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an *अव्यय* or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः
(अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in *taddhîta* or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sārva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तत्रा, यत्रा, सर्वत्रा, सत्रा &c.

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान्न एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with न् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in न् or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix नुन् (technically नुनुन्) and षन् (technically एषुन्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in न्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus हानुन् 'to give,' and स्मरन् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिवध्वै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वाहुंकारं,' 'संपन्नंकारं,' 'जवणंकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9 = वक्षे); ता 'वामेषे,' एयनामुर्वीम् गच्छुतिमेषां (इ + से = एषे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरसे 'जीवसे' धा अस्मे वीराञ्छ्वश्वत इन्द्र शिभिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पूणीत भेषजं वरुणं तन्वे मम। ड्योक् च सूद्वे 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे)।

The word अन्त is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधवे (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः॥

क्लातोऽनुङ्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ला, तोऽनुङ्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ला तोऽनुङ् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (I. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदितो: 'having risen,' विसृप: 'having spread' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables :—पुरासृष्टे 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरावस्सना 'मपाकसोः' । पुराकूरस्य 'विष्टपो' विरप्तिः । वादाय पुयवीं नीःवान् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते चिश्मिभिः पुरा जर्दभ्य 'आदहः' (Rig Ved. VIII. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासाऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अग्निहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूप 'after the form i., e., accordingly.'

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhāva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinable viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लृक्) of the case affixes and feminine affixes, i.e., sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलवाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i.e., sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपगान्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अव्ययकारः. Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sūtras 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigāṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇa-patha ; their repetition here in the Aṣṭādhyāyī indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, viz., all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69, declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

declinables like उदेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योदेतोः; or कूरस्य
द्वयः.

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarva-nāmasthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. 1. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also तृणि, त्रपूणि, जतृनि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पस्व वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवन्ति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra sut. (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanāmasthāna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औद्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	डे (ए)	„	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	डसि (अस्)	„	„
Genitive	षष्ठी	डस् (अस्)	औस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	डि (इ)	„	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट of औद् &c. are indicative. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औद्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुद् vibhaktis while in the remaining cases, the base is राज् and राज as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राजः
Instrumental	राजा	राज-यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ:— prâpta-vibhâshâ, aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिश्वाव.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels yan are called samprasâraṇa.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels य, व, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yan. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhâ affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the क्तिन् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वड्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यप्-विद्धः, गृह्-गृहीतम्-प्रह्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिद्विवर्तयति अन्तः किद्विवर्तयति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 5) which says "ârdhahâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhahâtuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhahâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhahâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट्. Thus भू + इट् + स्यति = विष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly ज्ञविता 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment बुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + बुक् + णिच् + त = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिद्, अच्, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्चां सन्निविष्टानामन्त्यात्तच्चः परो मिद्भवति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मित् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which उ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of मू 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस् + नुम् + इ (VII. 1. 72) = पयान्ति (I. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् i. e. after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 59) = मुञ्चति । Similarly विरुणादि .

The word अच् is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मृज्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between न् and ज्ञ. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स् and ज्ञ is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ञ् + ता = मस्ञ् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्नुञ् + ता = मञ्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मङ्क्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मङ्कुम्.

एच इग्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have 10 corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वा, अति + माना = अतिमानः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when द्रुत or prolated vowels, are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शास्त्रे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāshṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, viz. 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sūtra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन् in जौद् or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn :—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, i. e. that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' i. e. is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence हर्षाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकाक्षः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāṣha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and ॠ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like वि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likeliest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—इण्ड + अयं = इण्डायं; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63 :—"The words पद्, दत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes ङस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पाद्, दत् of दन्त, नस् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डयुवतिः.

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणातः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अइस् not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is स्." Thus अम + स्तै = अम् + अस्ते = अमुस्ते; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अम् + ऊभ्याम् = अमुभ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for क् and ख् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces ख् having the same quality; while ख् which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पक् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; रथञ् + घञ् = रथागः; रङ्गञ् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâṣâ :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure; *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtṛâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, वेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्घसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of झञ् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in त्रिदुग्धमसति, the ह् has been changed into भ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (क्कारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for क् it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of क् and means literally 'of क्' or 'in the place of क्'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of क्. Thus, there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for अ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of अ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of अ, the actual substitute is अर. Thus कृ + ता = कर्त्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when अ is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र. As कृ + अति = कि + र + अति = किरति 'he scatters,' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when अ is replaced by उ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र. As द्वि + मातृ + अण् = इमातृ: 'son of two mothers'

This र is to be added only when अ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the अ of the word सुधातृ is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधातृ + इञ् = सुधातृ + अक् + इ = सौधातृकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhātṛi' Here the substitute of अ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र.

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter र and अ of अण्; and thus it includes the letters र and ल. In that case the sūtra would mean that अण् substitutes of अ and ल are always followed by र and ल respectively. Thus guṇa of र = ar, of ल = al.

अलोन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोऽन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared स्वराक्षीनामः "in the place of स्वर् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word स्वर्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of स्वर्, namely र् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इङ्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोष्ठी and not the whole word, as पञ्चगोष्ठी: 'purchased for five gopis.' पञ्चगोष्ठीः

डिच् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिच् च आदेशः सोऽन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ऋ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of माह and पिह there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिन् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of माह is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तातङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ङ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवतु ‘may he live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्ये शिष्यमाणमादेरनः प्रत्येतत्त्वम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: “In the place of अप् used after the words हि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows हि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have हि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीपं ‘promontory.’ So also in the sūtra ईशातः (VII. 2. 83) ‘long ई is the substitute of अन् when the latter comes after the root आत्.’ Thus आत् + अन् = आत् + ईन् = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन्.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शिल्पसर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शिल्, सर्वस्य,

(आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शिल्प सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra ब्रुवो वच्ति (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter क. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इवम् there is इव्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इवम्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,

अनल्विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्यलाश्रयाणि तार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an tidesā sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Âdeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an âdeśa is not like the sthāni. A rule which is applicable to the letters of the sthāni, need not be applicable to the letters of the âdeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix **त्वा** e. g. **मह् + त्वा**. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate **इ** before ârdhahâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except **य**. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix **त्वा** begins with **त्** and is an ârdhahâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have **मह् + इ + त्वा = गृहीत्वा** (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix **त्वा** is replaced by **य** (tech. **व्यप्**). Thus **संगृह् + य**. This âdeśa **य** which takes the place of **त्वा** has all the functions of **त्वा** viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 *ante*), as the affix **त्वा** does. But the affix **त्वा** takes an intermediate **इ**; should, therefore, the âdeśa **य** take also the **इ** or not? Now the augment **इ** which **त्वा** takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of **वल्** pratyâhâra; while **य** is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking **इ** by rule VII. 2. 35. the âdeśa **य** is not like **त्वा**; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have **संगृह्य**.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a kṛit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare :—'भू is the substitute of the root **आसृ**, and **वच्** of the root **वृ** when an ârdhahâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes **भू** and **वच्** are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes **तव्य** &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus **भविता**, **भवितुम्**, **भवितव्यम्**; **वक्ता**, **वक्तुम्**, **वक्तव्यम्**.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base **किम्** when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, का-याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप् is the substitute of the kṛit affix ल्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ + ल्यप् = प्रकृ + ल् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—'इक् is the substitute of the affix ङ' as इधि + ङक् (IV. 2. 18) = इधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prātipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix ल्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य is the substitute of the sup-affix ङे after an ipflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृषाय; वृषाय.

The substitute of ति becomes like ति. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—'ताम्, तम्, त and चाम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, य, and मिप् when tense-affixes having indicatory इ follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुतम्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—'वस् is the substitute of दुष्मान्, दुष्मन्, दुष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मान्, and अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वस् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनल्लिधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an ādeśa is called sthāni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is ātmanepadī.' वष the substitute of हन् will be ātmanepadī, as आवाधित्; but हेन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word ādeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the imperative e. g. वक्तु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of ति

पयिङ्, स्वङ् &c., such as the change of इ into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into ण (VII. 1. 85), इ into ए (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as औः, एण्याः, णः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्वविधौ, (स्यानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्तव्ये स्यानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyāhāra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Thus there is an affix called लिङ् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and ण् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vriddhi of the penultimate अ; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as एच + इ = पाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पदु, we have to add the affix लिङ्. Thus पदु + इ; but before णिच, the उ of पदु is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel उ of पदु and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the अ of पद् is really a penultimate and ought to be vriddhi'd before 'णिच' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पदि the present tense third person singular of which is पदयति. The equation being पद् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पद् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अचधीत्, the aorist (लुङ्) of चधे. Thus अ + चध + ईत् = अ + चध् + ० + ईत्. Here, the अ of चध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vriddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when लिङ् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form **अवाधीन्** which is inadmissible.

Similarly **बहुखद्वा + कप् = बहुखद्कः**. Here, the short **अ** is the substitute of the long **आ** of **खद्वा** by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word **बहुखद्वा** will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahuvrīhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short **अ** is regarded as sthānivat to long **आ**. Thus **बहुखद्कः**.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthānivat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called **ल्यप्**, the real suffix being **य**, the **लृ** and **प्** being diacritical letters. Before this **य** the verb **आगम्** (to come) loses its **म्**, and lopa or blank takes the place of **म्**. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and **म्** a consonant is sthāni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory **प्**, the letter **त** is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in **आगम्**, when **म्** is omitted, the **अ** of **ग** becomes final; and therefore a **त्** is required before **य** (which is a **पितृ** affix). Thus we have **आगत्य**.

But had lopa, or blank become sthānivat to **म्** then the **अ** of **ग** would have remained penultimate as it was when it was **आगम्**; and no **त्** would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word **प्रभः**. Thus **प्रभृ + नङ्** (III. 3. 90) **प्रभृ + नङ्** (VI. 4. 19). Here, **भृ** is substituted for **भृ**; this will not be sthānivat to **भृ**; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthānivat, there would come the augment **तुक्** (**तृ**) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly **अक्राष्टम्**, the aorist of **कृष्**. Thus **अ + कृष् + सिञ् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + ० + ताम्** (VIII. 2. 26). Here the **स्** is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānivat, **ष्** of **कृष्** would be changed into **क्**.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthānivat. Thus the words **युवजानिः** and **बधुटीजानिः**.

The word **युवजानि** is a bahuvrīhi compound of **युवति** and **जाया**, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the **आ** of **या** is replaced by **नि** (tech. **निङ्**) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This **नि** will not be sthānivat to **आ**, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the **ञ** could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of **ञ**

and य when any consonant except ह् or य् follows'). Thus, युवजाया + नि = युव-
जाय् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानि: (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाघ्रपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्याघ्रपात्' also illustrates this rule. व्याघ्रपात् is a bahuvrīhi compound of व्याघ्र and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pāda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopādeśa will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पन् is the substitute of the word पात् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याघ्रपात् + यद् (IV. 1. 105) = वैयाघ्रपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word आसीद्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root षी 'to shine.' Thus आसीधी + इद् = आसीधी + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, or the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dīdhī and evī are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final ई would have been elided.

Similarly an âdeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the âdeśa (pūrya-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the âdeśa; it will be applied to the exact âdeśa without considering what was the letter which the âdeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the âdeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गो is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गो is formed by changing ओ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the âdeśa औ, replaces ओ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and ओ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to ओ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and ओ applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the âdeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrya-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bābhavya.' The word बाभ्रव्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यद् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रो.

+ यम् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्र + यम् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रवः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रव्य + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्र + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अय् which replaced the यो of बाभ्रो, been sthânavat to यो, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अय् is not sthânavat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अय्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + धू + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निध् + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânavat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ḍhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthânavat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopādeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विवचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चविधिषु ॥५८॥
पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विवचन- वरे- यलोप- स्वर- सवर्ण- अनुस्वार- दीर्घ- जश्- च- विधिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोक्तप्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of ja⁴ and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânavat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânavat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A Rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the य of अय् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the य of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthânavat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and सन्ति being क्तिन् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः । So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विवचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इधि + अन्न we have इध्यन्न. Here इ is changed into य्. If this य् were sthânavat to इ, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form इद्ध्यन्न. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधिः 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् to rule' we have ईश्वरः 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावरः 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + ० + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters य् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except र्, i. e., beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + ० + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthânavat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावरः; as, अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेन पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + ० + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthânavat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूतिः 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 19) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicator लृ , the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now ञ्वल् is an affix that has an indicatory लृ , the real affix being ञ्व (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्षे 'desirous of doing' we have:— $\text{चिकीर्षे} + \text{ञ्वक} = \text{चिकीर्षे} + \text{०} + \text{ञ्वक}$, the ञ्व being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent ञ्व but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की ; and we have चिकीर्षकः , so also मिहीर्षकः ॥

6. सवर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikarāṇa ञम् (III. 1. 78) the ञ् and म् being indicatory the real affix is न . This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:— $\text{शिष्} + \text{ञनम्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न} + \text{प्} + \text{हि} = \text{शि} + \text{न्} + \text{०} + \text{प्} + \text{हि}$. The ञ्व of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the ञ्व of ञनम् is dropped before those sārva dhātuka terminations which are कित् or ङित् . By I. 2. 4 all sārva dhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory प् are considered as ङित् . The affix हि therefore is a ङित् sārva dhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित् , not having an indicatory प् . The next stage is:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \text{०} + \text{प्} + \text{धि}$; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झञ् pratyāhāra:' here प् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into ङ् and ड् and we have $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \text{०} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$ (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of झञ् pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:— $\text{शि} + \text{०} + \text{०} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of यङ् pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except ह् , श् , ष् and ञ् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarna to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the ञ्व which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into ञ् as homogeneous to ङ् . But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form $\text{शि} + \text{ञ्} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि} = \text{शिङिङ्}$ or शिङिडि ; so also विङिडि .

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:— $\text{शि} + \text{न्} + \text{०} + \text{ङ्} + \text{डि}$. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvāra.

Now if zero be considered as sthânavat, then न् is not followed by a letter of ह्रस्व class, pratyâhâra, and cannot be changed into anusvâra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthânavat, and we change the न् into anusvâra. Other examples are सि + न् + ० + घ् + अन्ति = सिषन्ति; so also पिषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is ङ or ञ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + ञ = प्रतिदिङ् + ० + न् + ञ. Here the ञ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their ञ before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the ह्रस्व pratyâhâra, of words that end in र् or ळ and are followed by a consonant. Here दिङ् is a root that ends in ळ; and if the zero be considered as sthânavat, then this ळ is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिङ् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिङ् + ० + न् + ञ = प्रतिदीङ्गा ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the Âdeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अङ् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अङ् is replaced by घञ्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घञ् + क्तिन् = स + घञ् + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of ह्रस्व class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of ह्रस्व class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the ञ of घ, be considered as sthânavat, then the घ् is not followed by a consonant of ह्रस्व class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धि: (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first ञ is omitted, and then स is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बद्धाम्, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भञ्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyâdi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भञ् + ताम् = भञ् + भञ् + ताम् = ब + भञ् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् = बद्धाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a जाश् rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthânavat.

10. चरविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb चर् 'to eat.' अस् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of लि or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ + ० + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झन् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झन् class, and if zero is not sthânavat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânavat and thus we have :—जक् + सतुस् = जक्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अत्तन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed:—अ + घस् + त्ति + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânavat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânavat. Therefore we have, अत्तन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânavat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânavat. Thus बहुखट्वकः, कियोः, गियोः, वाद्योः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânavat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विवचनेऽपि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विवचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचननिमित्तेऽपि अजादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति द्विवचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to the latter, the sūtra means :— 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made,

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthânavat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *vis.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix लिङ्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अव्, आय् and आव् for ए, ओ ह् and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + ◦ + अतुस् (VI. 4. 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ârdha-dhâtuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or डित् and before इद्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthânavat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ◦ + अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of क् 'to kill.' क् + अतुस् = क् + ◦ + क् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate ष of क् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' क् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or डित्. We know पपुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants क् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + क् + अतुस् = कपुस् (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into क् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into क् by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix णिच् . Let us form the Aorist (luñ) of the causative form of आद् . The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ . Thus we have:— $\text{अ} + \text{आद्} + \text{णिच्} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{चङ्} + \text{त्}$. The affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix being अ . Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an Ārdhahâtuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ . Now चङ् is such an affix. Therefore we have $\text{आद्} + \circ + \text{अत्}$.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चङ् .' The चङ् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ , becomes sthānivat to इ ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable दि , by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the ādeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus $\text{आदिद्} + \circ + \text{अत्} = \text{आदिदत्}$.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of यत् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do':— $\text{कृ} + \text{अतुस्} = \text{कृ} + \text{अतुस्}$, the semi-vowel र् taking the place of त् by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अतुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now र् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, त्), it will therefore be sthānivat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthānivat, the consonants क् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute र् being taken equal to त् , we reduplicate कृ ; in reduplication the क् is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and त् into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:— चक्रतुः ; similarly चकुः .

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': $\text{नी} + \text{एल्} = \text{नै} + \text{अ} = \text{नाय्} + \text{अ}$. The इ is vriddhi before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for इ , being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānivat to इ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय् , we reduplicate as if it were still नै . Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय . Similarly निनय , लुलव , and लुलाव .

Why have we used the word "dvivachane" in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form **जग्ने** the 3rd per. sing. perfect tense (लिङ्) of the root **ज्ने** "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिङ्, is **एच्** (III. 4, 81). Thus **ज्ने + एच् = ज्ना + एच्** (VI. 1. 45). Now here **ऐ** is changed into **आ**, on account of the affix **एच्**; this affix causes reduplication, but still **आ** is not to be considered as sthānivat to **ऐ**. For if **आ** be considered so, then in the next stage **ज्ना + एच् = जल् + ० + एच्** (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to **ऐ** and the reduplicative syllable will be **जि** and not **ज**; the form being **जिज्ने** and not **जग्ने**. But **आ** is not sthānivat to **ऐ**, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of **ऐ** into **आ** is immaterial; it is the second and further change of **आ** into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānivat to **आ**.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form **दुद्युषति**, 3rd per. sing. desiderative present tense of **दि॒** 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—**दि॒ + सन्** (III. 1. 7) = **दि + ऊ + सन्** (VI. 4. 19) = **इ॒ + ऊ + सन्** (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of **इ** into **इ॒** is caused by **ऊ** (tech. **ह्रस्व**), which begins with a vowel; is this **इ॒** to be regarded as sthānivat to **इ**? No, because **ऊ** does not *cause* reduplication, it is **सन्** which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—**इ॒ + सन् = दुद्युस** (VI. 1. 9) = **दुद्युषति**. If **इ॒** could be regarded like **इ**, then the form would have been **दिद्युषति**.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix **यङ्** of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthānivat. Let us form **जेघ्रीयते** the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root **घ्रा** 'to smell.' Thus **घ्रा + यङ् = घ्री + यङ्** (VII. 4. 31) = **जेघ्रीयते** (VII. 4. 2). Here, **आ** is changed into **ई** on account of **यङ्**; but **ई** is not sthānivat to **आ**; had it been so, the form would have been **जघ्रीयते**. Similarly **देधीयते**.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुधारणमनुपलब्धिर्भावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतैः शब्दैः व्योभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or âdara, and as such the grammatical zero has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, slu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, ए and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,
(अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप् इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms slu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of slu or lup.

Thus in अङ् + शप् + लुक् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word slu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, slu or lup." So that the disappearance of a base would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases āgastya, and kaundinya; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the bases of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-
लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present

This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अमिचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अहोह् + तिप् = अहोह् + त् (III. 4. 100) = अहोह् + ° (VI. 1. 68) = अहोह् + ° (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into घ् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अघोघ् + ° (VIII. 2. 37) = अघोघ् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛtti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आग्नीय and सङ्गमीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इद् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुद् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, स् a portion of the affix सीयुद् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आग्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshana. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः; here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुप्तताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुप्तता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप्तता शब्देन लुप्ते प्रत्यये अङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing **लु**, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words **लुक्**, **रुलु**, or **लुप्**, then the 'sign' or **लक्षण** or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words **लुप्** &c.; and by the word **लोप**. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word **अङ्ग** in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prātipadika) and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word **गर्गाः** is the plural of the word **गार्ग्यः**. The word **गार्ग्यः** is formed by adding the affix **यञ्** to **गर्म** (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory **ञ्** being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of **गार्ग्यः**, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is *luk* of the affix **यञ्** when the word takes the plural. Here the affix **यञ्** is elided by the word *luk*, which means not only the elision of the **य** of **गार्ग्यः** but also the shortening of **आ** into **अ**, that is, the affix being elided it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhi of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly **मृष्टः** is the 3rd per. dual present tense of **मृञ्** 'to clean.' It belongs to Adādi class in which the vikaraṇa **शप्** is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the *ik* of the base **मृञ्** is vṛiddhi'd before verbal affixes).

Similarly **ब्रुहत्**: 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa **शप्** has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs *hu* &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which **शप्** was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing **लु**, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus **कृ + णिच् + यक् + ते = कारि + यक् + ते = कार् + यक् + ते = कार्यते**. Here the elision of the affix **णिच्** is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe **पञ्च** 'five,' **सप्त** 'seven,' **पयः** 'milk,' **साम** 'sāma veda.' Here in the word **pañcha**, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called *shat*, the जस् and शस् are elided by 'luk') Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *râjan*, 'a king,' 1. p. *râjânaḥ* 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a *pada*. Thus:—पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final न्.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योऽत्र तदादि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sūtra defines टि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचिन् the portion इन् is टि; so also in सामसुन् the portion उन्. The word टि occurs in sūtra III. 4. 79.

The word अचः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of *nirbhāraṇa* or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वासौवर्ण समुदायेऽन्त्यादन्नः पूर्वोऽयो वर्णः सोऽन्नेवोपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines उपधा or penultimate. Thus in the words पञ्च, भिद्, बुध्, वृत् the letters अ, इ, उ, and ऋ are उपधा.

The word 'upadhā' occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य, व, इ, ए, (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus कधि + उक्कम् = कधुक्कम् ; so मध्वस्, पचत्योदन् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अमिचित्, the इ of अमि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here : and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,
(निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पक्षमर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उक्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उक् + स्थानम्. Here the word उक् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of स् ; we have उक् + स्थानम् = उत्थ्-थानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् इतिङ् : (VIII. 2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.’) Here the word ‘atiṇah’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus ओदन् पचति ; but not so in पचत्योदन्मिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वं, रूपम्,
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास्त्रे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यप्रत्याख्यं भवति न वाह्योऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृत्ताद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * पितृर्थायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * जितृर्थायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * क्षित्तद्विशेषाणाञ्च नस्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word **इव** which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word **रूप** denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words **इव** and **रूप**, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to **अग्नि** will be applicable to the word composed of **अ, श्, न्, इ** and not to the words synonymous with **agni**, such as, **पाककः, ज्वलनः** &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra **अग्नेर्दक्** (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'ḍhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus **अग्नि + दक् = आग्नेयम्** "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence **आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्**. Here the word **अग्नि** indicates the individual word-form **अग्नि** and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally **डक्** after **उद्विशित्**." As **औद्विशितम्** (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or **औद्विशितम्**. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to **तक्र, अरिष्ट, कालशेष, इण्डाहत** and **मयित**, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus **वाधार्त्तवशात्** (I. 1. 20) and **तरत्तमौ च** (I. 1. 22). Here the words '**वु**' and '**च**' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिन्, पिन्, जिन्, and फिन्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' मृग 'deer,' दण्ड 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of वृक्ष + न्यग्रोध, as वृक्षन्यग्रोधम् or वृक्षन्यग्रोधाः । Such sūtras are called सिन्.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पिन्. That sūtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix एमुञ्ज (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + एमुञ्ज = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sūtras are called पिन्.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जिन्. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'rājā' are taken, and neither the word-form 'rājā,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king' + सभा = इनसभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of झिन्. The sūtra means "the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' मृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मत्स्यकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मत्स्यकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुद्विस्वर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, स्वर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच्य स्वर्णानां माहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes.

The pratyāhāra अण् in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कृ refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ढु, णु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आङ्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, गुण is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sūtra अस्य ऌवौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णिकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वाकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsansa and bhiksha, there is उ' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तस्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,
इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेस्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्त्वन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the 'final' indicative letter? Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य,
(स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सप्तदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * उगिद्वर्णमहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदावल्ग्रहणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन ‘by what (attribute),’ विधिः ‘rule,’ तदन्तस्य ‘having that (attribute) at its end.’

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring “let there be the affix यत् after the vowels.” Here the phrase “after the vowels” means and includes “after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel.” Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words *ending* in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) ‘after इ there is अच्’ declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart:—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः ‘involved in pain.’ The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares “that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्.” Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सोत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart:—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, लृ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukrītavat will be sukrītavat. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दत्त + इञ् = दत्ति 'the son of Dakṣha.'

Vart :—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows,' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. अचिः, ध्रुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य,

अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आविभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *जिह्वाकाव्यहरित्काव्य वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sūtra consists of five words :— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel,' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'first,' तद् 'that,' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus माला + छ = मालीयः॥

Why do we say “the first?” Because a word like सभासंनयनः, which is not a vṛiddha word, will not admit of the affix छ. Its corresponding derivative will be सभासंनयनः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a vṛiddham. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया, or we may have देवदत्ता.

Vart:—A compound ending in a Gotra word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus रौढि is a Gotra word and also vṛiddham. Its compound घृतरौढि will be regarded as a vṛiddham too, for the addition of the affix. As घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीयाः ‘the students of Ghṛitarauḍhi.’ So also ओदनपाणिनीयाः, बृह्दाम्भीयाः, बृह्दकाश्यपीयाः &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of जिह्वाकात्य and हरितकात्य। They do not take छ. Thus जैह्वाकाता and हरितकाताः.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. See sūtra 27. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus तद् + छ = तसीयम्, एतसीयम्, तसीयम् इतसीयम्, अतसीयम्, स्वाहायनिः, माहायनिः &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्या-चामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As गोनर् is a country of the east, it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर् + छ = गोनर्सीयः; similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकरीयः.

The word *prāk* in the *sūtra* has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇḍin takes the word *prāk* as an epithet qualifying the word *āchārya*, 'professor' understood. In that case the *sūtra* will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called *vriddham*.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word *prāk* as qualifying the word *deśa* and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vriddham*: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आहिच्छत्रः, कान्यकुब्जः.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्तः which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be देवदत्तः, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमत्तः 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ् कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट्-आदि-
भ्यः , अञ्णित् , ङित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽञ्णिङितः प्रत्यया ङितो भवन्ति, ङित्त्वङ्गवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ * व्यञ्जेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb *gañ* 'to study' and the verb *kuṭ* 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory *ङ्* (*ñit*), except those affixes which have an indicatory *ञ्* (*ñit*) or *ण्* (*ñit*).

This is an *atideśa sūtra*, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory *ङ्*, to produce the same effect as if they were really *ङित्*.

The root *गाङ्* is substituted for the verb *इङ्* in certain tenses, in which the verb *इङ्* is defective (II. 4. 49). The *कुटादि* verbs are roots belonging to the *Tudādi* class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with *कुट्* 'to be crooked' and ending with *कुङ्* 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a *ङ्* with the exception of those affixes which are *ञित्* or *णित्*.

Thus from *गाङ्*, we have in the aorist the form *अध्यगीष्ट्*; which is thus evolved. *अधि + अङ् + इङ् + सिञ् + त = अध्य + गा + सू + त* (II. 4. 50) = *अध्य + गी + स्त* (VI. 4. 66) = *अध्यगीष्ट* 'he studied,' *अध्यगीषाता* 'they two studied,' *अध्यगीषत* 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the *आ* is changed into *ई* before the affix *सिञ्*, which is regarded as *ङित्*.

Similarly, after the verbs *कुट्* &c., all affixes are treated as *ङित्*, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus *कुट् + ढञ्* (III. 1. 133) = *कुट् + इङ् + ढञ्* (VII. 2. 35) = *कुटिढ*, nominative singular *कुटिता* 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix *ढञ्* being regarded as *ङित्* does not cause the *guṇa* substitution of the *उ* of *कुट्*, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes *तुमुन्* and *तव्यम्*, we have *कुटितुम्* and *कुटितव्यम्*. So on with all the forty roots of *kuṭādi* class: e. g. *उत्पुटिता* *उत्पुटितुम्*, *उत्पुटितव्यम्*.

But the affixes marked with झ् or ण् will not be so treated. Thus णिञ् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix ; e. g. उत्कुद् + णिञ् + शप् + तिप् = उत्कोद् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोटयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुद्. So also before the affix एल् of the perfect tense, we have उरुचुकोट, and before the affix ण्यन् we have उत्कोटकः ।

Vārtika :—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭādi verbs, except before the affix अस्. As विचिता 'he shall deceive,' विचितुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprasāraṇa before the nit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम्, and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस् is not nit and consequently there is no samprasāraṇa before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विजः, इट्, (डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजी भयचजनयोः, अस्मात्पर इडादिप्रत्ययो डिङ्गवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35) is nit after the root *vij*, 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like डित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudādi class. Thus उद्विजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्विजितुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated' उद्विजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इट्, are not like डित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As उन् + विज् + ल्युट् = उद्वेजनम्, उद्वेजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषार्णोः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णोः । (डित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णुश्च आच्छादने, अस्मात्पर इडादिप्रत्ययो विभाषा डिङ्गवति ॥

3. After the verb ūṛṇa 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इट् is regarded optionally like nit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णुविता or प्रोर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is :—प्र + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्णु + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णुविता. When the affix is not regarded as डित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इट्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form : as प्रोर्णु + ल्युट् = प्रोर्णो + अवनम् = प्रोर्णवनम् 'covering,' प्रोर्णवनम् 'which ought to be covered.'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत्, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपित्तन्दिङ्भवति ॥

4. A *Sârvadhâtuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory *प्* is like *nit*.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhâtuka*. The *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a *प्* and also the tense terminations called *ङित्*, the latter are the following :—

	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	मि	} Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त्	आताम्	झ	} Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a *प्* such as *ति सि मि* and *मि* &c., all the other *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations are *ङित्*. The *ङित्* terminations like *शद्*, *शानच्* &c., are also *Sârvadhâtuka* terminations. These affixes are also *ङित्*, unless they have a *प्* as indicatory, as *शप्*. Thus the affix *तस्*, being an *अपित्* *Sârvadhâtuka* affix, is a *ङित्*, and before it the vowel is not gunated: e. g. *कुरुतः* 'they two do.' The equation is:—*कृ + उ + तस्* (the *उ* is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = *कृ + उ + तस्* (VI. 4. 110) = *कुरु + तस्* = *कुरुतः* ॥ Similarly *कुर्वन्ति* 'they do.'

Here the *अ* of *कृ* is changed into *उ* and we have *कुरु*, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the *अ* of the verb *कृ* is changed into *उ* before those *Sârvadhâtuka* affixes which are *ङित्* or *कित्*. Here *तस्* is a *Sârvadhâtuka* *ङित्* affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the *ङित्* terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sârvadhâtuka* affix.'? Because an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix though not being marked with an indicatory *प्* will not be a *ङित्*. As *कर्त्ता* 'doer,' *कर्तुम्* 'to do' *कर्तव्यम्* 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory *प्*'? If a *Sârvadhâtuka* affix has an indicatory *प्* it will not be *nit*. As *कृ + उ + तिप्* = *करोति* 'he does:' *करोषि* 'thou doest,' *करोमि* 'I do.'

असंयोगास्मिद् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्धातोः परो ङिद् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किङ्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as क्त्वा though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being क्त्वा terminations, are क्त्वा, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अक्त्वा (not being marked with क्त्वा) qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भि 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभित्तु: 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'they have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिवतु: 'thou hast divided;' चिच्छिव: 'you divided;' ईजतु: and ईजु:.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus **संस** 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—**संससु + असुसु = संसंसु**:. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of **संस** by rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from **धंस** we have **धंससे** .

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore, we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination एन् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I. 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च,
(लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो जित् प्रत्ययः क्रिञ्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * अन्थिग्रन्थिगम्भिस्वस्त्रानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root हन्थ ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root हन्भू as in the following examples:—समीधे वस्युहन्तमम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुन ईधे अथर्वणम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have समुत्, समुविथ ॥

Vart:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs भृष् 'to loosen,' बध् 'to fasten,' हन् 'to injure' and स्वङ् 'to embrace.' As भेषयुः 'thou hast

oosened' अय् + अतुस् = अय् + अतुस्. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra viz., VI. 4. 24).

= अय् + अय् + अतुस् = अयतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly मेयतुः; वैभतुः, परिषस्वजे, रिषस्वजाते.

**सृडसृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्ता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृड-सृद-गुध
कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः, क्ता (कित्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सृड सृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः ल्वाप्रत्ययः किङ्गवाति ॥

7. The affix *ktvā* is *kit* after *mṛid* 'to be gracious,' *mṛid* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *kliś* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and to *vas* 'dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvā* is *kit*. It might be objected, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *ktvā* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *ktvā* is a *kit* affix generally; but there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्ता is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्ता is added to those verbs, which are called सेट् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेट्. Therefore शी + इ + स्वा = शे + इ + स्व = शयित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेट् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्ता before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favor of these verbs, where the affix *ktvā* is necessarily *kit*. Thus we have सृडित्वा 'being gracious' सृडित्वा 'having squeezed' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered' उदित्वा 'having spoken' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व् of वट् and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasâraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुध्, कुष् and क्लिस्, sūtra 26 would have made क्ता optionally *kit*; the present sūtra makes it necessarily so.

**रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्रपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-
ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ संश्च, (क्ता कित्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च ल्वा च कित्ती भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *ktvā* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit*, after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktvā* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इन्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुरुषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विविदिषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16). 'having taken,' जिवृक्षति 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुमुषिषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' वृद्धा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked,' विवृच्छति 'he wishes to ask'. The verb मृह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into वृच्छ before कित् affixes by samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 16).

The *ktvā* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verb रुह्, विह् and मुप् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb मृह्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix रक्ता is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anit, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the रक्ता being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको ऋल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ऋल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्भातोः परो ह्यन्तादिः सन् किञ्चनति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyāhāra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of रक्ता. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyāhāra इक्* contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, लृ. The *Pratyāhāra सन्* contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is ह्यन्तादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the ह्यल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a ह्यन्तादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer' यु 'to mix' युयुषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति कृ 'to cross' तितीर्षति, भू 'to be' बुभुषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or लृ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The झञादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्या we have निष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिञ्चिषति 'wishes to collect' तुष्टुषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be : for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal* i. e., not preceded by the augment इद् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गन्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment इद्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिञ्चिषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply : in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb जप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus जप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of जप्ति is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of णिच् and we have जप् + स + ति = जप्सति (VII. 4. 55 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, ऋक्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः । इगन्तादिकसमीपाद्धलः परः सन् झञादिः किङ्वति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant, and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyādhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभिस्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix सन् is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यञ् + सन् + ते = यियक्षते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वञ्, खप्, and यञ्, &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a सन्नादि सन्, it is not *kit*; and causes gunation *etcetera*, As इत् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like इम्, ढ्ह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sūtra means *jāti* or class thus इम् + सन् + तिप् = इम् + सति (VI. 4. 24 the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्) = धिप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिचौ, आत्म-
नेपदेषु (हलन्तात् इक् भल्ल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाख्यानः परौ सन्नादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyâhâra, are *kit*, when the âtmane-pada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛtti* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8. does not extend further. As:—भिस्सीष्ट 'may he break' and भुस्सीष्ट. 'may he know,' अभित्त 'he broke' अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the *jhalâdi* affix सीष्ट of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद् + सीष्ट = भिस्सीष्ट. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभित्त = अ + भिद् + सिच् + त, the स of Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुद्ध + सीष्ट = भुत् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 37) = भुस्सीष्ट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यञ् + सीष्ट = यप् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीष्ट (VIII. 2. 41) = यक्षीष्ट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयष्ट. Had the affixes सीष्ट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of चञ् 'to let off,' is अ + चञ् + सीत् = अचञ्सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = अचञ्सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = अचञ्सीत् (II. 2. 1). Similarly from वृञ् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अवृञ्सीत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs वृञ् and वृञ्) would have been an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows, would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेपीष्ट, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not *jhalādi* but take the augment इट्. Thus Ben. वृत् + इपीष्ट = वरिपीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्तिष्ट. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future द्विष्ट is द्वेष्टा and द्वेक्ष्यति.

उच्यते ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झञासी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in ऋ, the substitutes of लिङ् and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also इ, as अकृत 'he did.' So also इषीष्ट and अहत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the immediate इ; as वृ + इपीष्ट = वरिपीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + = अवर्तिष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by I. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झञासी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the लिङ् *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिञ्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगंसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive ; and समगत or समगस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved :—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगंसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगंसीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिञ्च + त = सम् + अद् + गम् + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत. The सिञ्च being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिञ्च, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिञ्च. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हनः सिञ्च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिञ्च । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिञ्च किञ्चति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिञ्च or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिञ्च is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12, and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिञ्च; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गम्यने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गम्यने, (सिञ्च आत्मने-पदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वस्मानात्परः सिञ्च प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आद् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उत् + आ + यम् + त = उदायत = 'he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिञ्च in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायंस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायंस्त कृपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam*, is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by सम्, उन् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमार्थांतरूपयमने वर्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किङ्कति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before Atmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायन्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायन्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्थाध्वोरिच् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, ध्वोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारध्वान्तादेशः सिच् किङ्कति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthā* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place' है 'to pity' धे 'to feed' हो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थित, 'he worshipped' उपास्थिषाताम्, उपास्थिषत; अदित 'he gave' अधित 'he fed.'

न क्त्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्त्वा, सेट्, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः संज्ञत किङ्कति ॥

18. The affix *ktvā* when it takes the augment इ (*i. e.* when it is *seṭ*) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktvā* (the actual affix being *tvā*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *seṭ*. If it is *seṭ i. e.*, has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, इत्वा, the affix त्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and इ 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदिष्या, वेदिष्या, वसिष्या, from स्विद्, विद् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before ष्या and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to क्त्वा *ktvā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a क्तिन् affix. This affix when सेद्, will remain क्तिन्, as नि + मृद् + इद् क्तिन् = नि + मृद् + इ + ति (VI. 1. 16) = निमृहीतिः (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprasāraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्तिहितः and निकुञ्चितः there is no guṇa. After मृद् &c., the affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिद्विवदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा,
शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-द्विवदि-धृषः (न, सेद्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि द्विवदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेष्ण क्तिञ्चति ॥

19. The *seṭ* Nishṭhā affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *śī* 'to lie down,' *svi* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *kshvi* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhri* 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhās are *nta* and *ktavatu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the Nishṭha affixes are also *seṭ*.

The roots स्विद् (अग्निषा), मिद् (अग्निषा), क्षिद् (अग्निषा) and धृष् (अग्निषा) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable अि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *uniṭ*, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As स्विज्, स्विज्जवान्. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *seṭ*. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा
सेद् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्धेनिष्ठासेष्ण क्तिञ्चति ॥

20. The *seṭ* Nishṭhā is not *kit* after the verb *mṛ* 'to forbear' when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne' मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the *seṭ* nishṭhā will be कित्. As अपमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥२३॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,
भाव-आदि-कर्मणोः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठासेण् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्भावातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्यतरस्यां न किङ्वति ॥

21. The *set* Nishṭhâ is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate उ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *set* Nishṭhâ suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate उ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus द्युत् 'to shine' द्युतितमनेन or द्योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रद्योतितः or प्रद्युतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in sūtra 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than उ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the Nishṭhâ does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action' but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं दशति 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpaṇa).' Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishṭhâ which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रशुक्तं अन्नः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikaraṇa शप् *i. e.* the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुप् 'to wrap up' belongs to Divâdi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुधितं.

पूङः क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्त्वा, च (सेट्, कित्, न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्त्वा च सेण् न किङ्वति ॥

22. The *set* Nishṭhâ and the *set* *ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb पुन 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sūtra 21 does not govern this sūtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sūtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity, had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sūtra, for then this would have also governed the next sūtra. The *anuvṛitti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this sūtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhā and क्त्वा *ktvā* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvā* being *set* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra: when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvā* in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्.

नोपधात् यफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-य-फ-अन्तात्-वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्वातोस्थकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट्वा न किङ्वति ॥

23. The *set* *ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in य् and फ्.

The *set* *ktvā* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in य् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from ग्रथ् we have ग्रथित्वा or ग्रन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुम्फित्वा or गुम्फित्वा 'having tied round' अग्रथित्वा or अग्रन्थित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhā" does not govern this sūtra, and comes to an end with the last sūtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in य् or फ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled' गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा *tvā* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिफ्, and गुफ् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final य् or फ्, the rule does not apply. As संस् + इत्वा = संसित्वा 'having dropped' ध्वंसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्च्यतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लुञ्चि-ऋतः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्चि ऋत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट्वा न किङ्वति ॥

24. The *set* *ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch*, 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and *rit* 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvā* affix being *set*, may or may not be *kit*. As वञ्चित्वा or वञ्चित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुञ्चित्वा or लुञ्चित्वा 'having plucked' ऋतित्वा or अर्तित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb ऋत् *rit* takes the affix ईयङ् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III. 1. 29.

When the *ktivā* is not *set*, but *anit*, then there is no option allowed.
As वच् + त्वा = वत्त्वा.

तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशेः,
काश्यपस्य, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न
किङ्चति ॥

25. The *set* *ktivā* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāśyapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mriśh* 'to sprinkle,' and *kriś* 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तृषित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मृषित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृषित्वा or कृषित्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *set* *ktivā* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kāśyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛitti from sūtra 23.

रलो व्युपधादुलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ- इ-उपधाद्,
हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाद्यधातो रलन्तादुलादेः परः संश्च क्त्वाच सेटौ वा कितौ
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyāhāra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktivā* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words:—

1. रलः *ralah*, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratyāhāra ral* i. e., all the consonants except य् *y* and व् *v*):—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य् *y* or व् *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate दी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. हलादिः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a रल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktivā* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युन् 'to shine,' makes द्युतिस्वा or द्योतिस्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखिस्वा or लेखिस्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have निजिखिषति or निजेखिषति 'he wishes to write' दिद्युतिषते or दियोतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रच् . As दिक् + क्ता = देविस्वा ; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति . No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ . As वृत् + क्ता = वर्तिस्वा . Des. विवर्तिषते .

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषिस्वा and एषिषति . There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the क्ता and सन् are अनु . As भुक्ता, बुभक्षते.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like ङिन् and क्तिन् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽङ् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ-कालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ङ ३ इत्येवं कालोऽङ् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their mātrā. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ताः अन्वात् Devadatta ! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47, VII. 4. 25. VIII. 2. 82.

अचञ्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः स्वसंज्ञायाश्चिह्नमाणा अचञ्चस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms 'short,' 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. ¹ "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As ऐ अतिरि, नौ अतिनु, गो उपगु .

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम् .

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25 ² teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra, which will then be "*of an inflective base ending in a vowel*, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि + यङ् + ते = चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु + य + ते = श्रुयते 'it is heard'. Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भि + य + ते = भियते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते 'it is pierced'.

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84, ³ declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the टि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word टि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:— "*Pluta* is substituted in the place of the vowel of the टि &c." Thus देवदत्त३, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्त३ O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of *vowels* only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the टि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचि३त्, सोमसु३त्. Here the syllables इन् and उन् are टि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant न्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, युभ्याम् युभिः ॥ See I. 1. 4.

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योअच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udātta* or *acute* accent. As अग्निः *agnīḥ*, here *i* has the acute accent. The *udātta* is not marked

(¹) इत्थो नपुंसको प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ (²) अकृत्स्नार्धातुकयोर्द्विर्घः ॥ (³) वाक्यस्य देः पुन उदात्तः ॥ कृत्स्नोऽप्युच्चैः ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3. ¹ "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartavyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अग्निः agnīḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. ² "The case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicatory पू are anudātta" &c. As जयः, बोधानि.

In pronouncing an anudātta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone : while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

' समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. ³ "The affixes having an indicatory त् have svarita accent." As कन्यां kanyāं शिष्यम् śiṣyam, क्वे kve.

(¹) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ (²) अनुदात्तो सुप्ति ॥ (³) तिस्वरितम् ॥

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः ,
उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आदावर्द्धस्वमुदात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*. It remained doubtful what portion was *accute* and what *grave*. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is *accute* and the other *grave*.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the *udātta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svarita*, half being *accute*, the other half, *grave* or *monotony*; in कन्या kanyā, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is *accute*, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is *grave*; in मानवका ३ manavakā, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is *accute*, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is *grave*.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekaśruti* or *monotony*.

Monotony or *Ekaśruti* is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative one.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 दूराद्वृत्ते च ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-

प-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûnkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekaśruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अग्निर्मुद्गादिवः ककुत्पतिः प्रयिव्या श्रूयम् । अपाम् रेतांसि जिन्वतो ३ म् ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents:—As ममाग्ने वचो विह्वेष्वेस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekaśruti.

In the *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekaśruti there. As ए३ विश्वं समन्त्रिणं दहा३ . Here there is no Ekaśruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा, वषट्कारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एकश्रुतिर्वा ।

35. The pronunciation of the word *vashat* may optionally be by raising the voice (accutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as वषट्? To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Pāṇini's aphorisms. Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वौ३ षट् .

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एकश्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekaśruti one or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In recading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent : but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekaśruti ; while some say there must be Ekaśruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmanas.

Thus :—अग्निमीजे पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीजे पुरोहितं. “ I praise Agni the purohita.”

The word वा “optionally” of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of *anuvṛtti*; why then use the word विभाषा “optional” again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛtti* of the word यत्तर्कमणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛtti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted ; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम्, स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्नभवति। यस्तु लक्षणप्राप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmanya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the udātta accent instead.

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned inatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekaśruti in the case of certain prayers called subrahmanya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekaśruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya prayers there is no ekaśruti ; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udātta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्यो ऽ मिन्द्रागच्छ हरिव आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मन्, and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (तिस्वरितम्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into *udātta*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word *Indra* being in the vocative case, इ is *udātta*, the अ of *Indra* is *anudātta* VI. 1. 198 ¹ The *anudātta* preceded by an *udātta* is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66) ².

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become *svarita*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an *udātta*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udātta*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udātta*; the next letter which was *anudātta* becomes *svarita*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *udātta* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudātta*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are *anudātta*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः , अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानुदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *devā* and *Brahmāṇa* in those hymns have *anudātta* accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in subrahmanya hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udātta* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudātta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छत 'come ye Devās and Brahmanas.' Here the word देवा gets *udātta* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198. ¹ (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vā* has originally an *anudātta* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 ² (an *anudātta* following an *udātta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udātta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudātta*. In other words, the original *anudātta* remains unchanged.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात् ,
संहितायाम् , अनुदात्तानाम् , (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परमनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudātta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

Sanhitā is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(¹) आगच्छितस्य च ॥ (²) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudatta* accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे' गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word इमं has udatta on the last syllable: the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 ¹ following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by ekaśruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 ² (all vocatives get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into ekaśruti. The word *sanhitā* will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109 ³.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरित-परस्य, सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरादेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes Ekaśruti. If however such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become Ekaśruti but becomes *sannatara* i.e. lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛtti of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. As देवा मरुतः पुष्पिमातरपेः ॥

Here the word मातरः is *anudatta*. The word अपः has *udatta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171. ⁴ In the phrase मतिरोपः (मातरः + अपः) The syllable रो is *anudatta*, because *anudatta* + *anudatta* = *anudatta*. This *anudatta* ओ, preceding the *udatta* षः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(¹) उदात्तादनुदात्तरथ स्वरितः ॥ (²) आसन्निभतरथ च ॥ (³) परः सनिकर्षः संहिता ॥ (⁴) उडिस्मदाद्यपुत्रैद्युभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix *त्* in *असेधीत्* is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix *क्विन्* *kvīn* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters *क्व*, *इ*, and *न्* are merely indicatory, the real affix is *व्*. This *व्* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67¹ (the *Aprikta* *व्* is elided). Thus *घृतस्पृक्* + *क्विन्* = *घृतस्पृक्* + *व्* (III. 2. 58)² = *घृतस्पृक्* ॥ अंशभन् + *क्विन्* = अंशभाक् 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).³ An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As *सर्वि*: 'a ladle' formed by the *Upādi* affix *विन्* (*वृद्ध्यां विन्*).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-purusha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." (Max Muller).

The compounds like *नीलोत्पलं* 'the blue lotus' *परमात्मा* 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikarāṇa*), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, *परमराज्यम्*, is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a *karmadhāraya* compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable *रा* by rule VI. 2. 130,⁴ (the word *राज्यम्* has *udatta* on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly *पाचिका + वृन्दारिका* = *पाचकवृन्दारिका* (VI. 3. 42.⁵ the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the *karmadhāraya*).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound, it won't be *karmadhāraya*. As *पाचिका + भार्यः* = *पाचिकाभार्यः*. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and therefore the word *पाचिका* retains its gender sign.

(¹) घेरपुक्तस्य ॥ (²) स्पृक्षोऽनुक्ते क्विन् ॥ (³) भजो ण्विः ॥ (⁴) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ।
(⁵) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयवेष्टीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ब्राह्मणं राज्यम् Brāhmaṇa rājyam 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udātta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्, समासे , उपसर्जनम् , ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतव्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, व्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्टं being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनपूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शोकुलाखण्डः, युपदारुः, वृकभयम्, राजपुरुषः, अक्षशौण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति , च , अपूर्व-निपाते , (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तद्विभक्तं विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्नियतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुविधविभक्तिभिर्युज्यमानेष्वेकैवविभक्त्या युज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्व-निपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)¹ which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex निष्क्रान्त + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः. निष्क्रान्त + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना. निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं; राजः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)¹ can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः

अर्थवद्धानुप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्, अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The prātipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhātu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(¹) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a pratipadika, as **डित्थः** 'a wooden elephant,' **कपित्थः** 'the wood-apple tree,' **कुण्डम्** 'a bowl,' **पीठम्** 'a seat'.

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning, thus of the word **वनं**, we cannot say that the portion **वन्** is pratipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a pratipadika, the final **न्** would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7 ¹ (the final **न्** of a pratipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word **अहन्** (the third person sing. number, Imperfect tense of **हन्**); he killed. Had it been a pratipadika, the **न्** would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as **कुण्डे** 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix **इ** of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'pratipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a pratipadika, the **ए** would have been shortened into **इ** by rule 47 succeeding.

A-nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of pratipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. As **अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते**.

**कृतद्वितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्-तद्धित-समासाः , च ,
(प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Pratipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word pratipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93) ² the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76). ³ Thus **जन** *jana*, man, is derived from the root **जन्** *jan* by the kṛit suffix **अ**; but **जनीन** *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from **जन** *jana* by the Taddhita affix **ईन** *īna*. The name pratipadika would apply both to **जन** *jana* and **जनीन** *janīna*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karmadhāraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrihi and Avyayībhāva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called pratipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(¹) नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ (²) कृतदिङ् ॥ (³) तद्धिता ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prātipadika as, कृ (to do) + ण्वल् = कृ + वृ = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133. ¹ The letters ण् and ल् are indicative, the force of ण् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix वृ is changed into अक by (VII. 1. 1 ² the affixes वृ and वृ are replaced by अन and अक respectively), thus the form कारक is a prātipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + दच् (III. 1. 133) ¹ = कर्तृ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prātipadika; उपगु + अण् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः, similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prātipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prātipadika : as राजः + पुरुषः = राज-पुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वर्त्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोऽन्यस्याच्च ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prātipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति + रै = अतिरि 'extravagant' as अतिरि = कुलम् 'an extravagant family'; अति लो = अतिजु 'very hairy' अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough,' similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prātipadika, the vowel is not shortened, as काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prātipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड + इ = काण्डे. Now it might be urged, that here one letter ए, replaces two letters अ and इ, therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prātipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(¹) ण्वल् इ वौ ॥ (²) युवोरमाकौ ॥

to be so, because the word *prâtipadika* has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this *ekâdêśa* is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य, (प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहिः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of *prâtipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as *upasarjana*.

The word *upasarjana* has been defined in *sûtra* 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an *upasarjana*.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow'. This is an example of a *Bahuvrîhi* or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow'. Similarly in those *prâtipadika* *upasarjanas* which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निष्कौशाम्बिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः.

The word *prâtipadika* of the previous *sûtra* is understood in this. The word गो in the *sûtra* means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svârîta* accent. The word *upasarjana* qualifies both these words, i. e. when गो is an *upasarjana* and when a word having a feminine termination is an *upasarjana*.

Other examples are :—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead' अतिमानः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'.

If such a word is not an *upasarjana*, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is *upasarjana*, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिनक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart :—In *Bahuvrîhi* compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुभ्यसी, विद्यमानभ्यसी ।

लुक्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्धित-लुकि, (स्त्री, उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि इति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुक्भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sūtra 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु 'ocean'; forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words e. g. अविष्ठा, कल्गुणी &c. which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34) ¹ after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = आविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being loked; the original feminine termination आ also becomes luk. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ठः; similarly from कल्गुनी we have कल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीप् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) ² take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्). Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + डीप् = इन्द्र + आन्. + ई. = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः 'an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कपालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचैन्द्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्रः sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is loked by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 ³ relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been loked, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also loked. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीप् are also dropped, and we have पंचैन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇīs (goddesses)."

(¹) अविष्ठाकल्गुन्यनुराधास्वानितिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविद्याषाढाषड्जाल्लुक् ॥ (²) इन्द्रवरुण-
भवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरप्ययवयवनमातुजाआर्याणामानुक् ॥ (³) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The words स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फललुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकं i.e., first the Taddhita affix is *laked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बदरी or बकुली trees, are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *laked*. Thus गार्ग्यः + कुलं = गार्ग्यकुलम् 'the family of Gārgi.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgi is *laked* by II. 4 71¹. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgi.

This rule would also not apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्ग्यत्वं.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवनती, कुन्ती, कुरूः.

इद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of *goni*, when the Taddhita affix is elided by *luk*.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पञ्चगोणिः 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28,² therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called *oga-vibhāga*. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when here is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(¹) सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकयोः ॥ (²) अथ्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोलुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्त्यवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि , युक्तवत् ,
व्यक्ति-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपीति लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्त्यवचने भवतः॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप् , then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4 वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luped, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and "let there be a लुप्"॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by lup—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषा: meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees'; the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचाला: is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचाला: are a class of Kshatriyas, as such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Panchālās live is also called Panchālās; similarly कुरवः, मागधा: &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप्. (IV. 2. 81, the lup takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचाला: + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचाला: .

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः लुप्: 'salted soap' लवणायवागुः 'salted gruel,' लवणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word लुक्, by IV. 4. 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word lavana; the affix is *laked*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषा: śirīshāḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the lup of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम् 'the forest of the village Śirīshā.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called śirisha, then the न of वन would have become ए optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनरपत्तिभ्यः ॥ the न of the word वन is optionally changed into ए when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same viz. neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च, अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्धस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बहुलाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pāñchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pāñchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोशै घामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pāñchālāḥ does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः निपशे रमणीयो बहुलः 'the country of Pāñchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुलः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pāñchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase जातिः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being “and as far as the jāti goes.” The word jāti is thus explained :—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which being the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (śākhādhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृहणाज्जातिर्निगानां च न सर्वभाक्। सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्यगोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition :—(1) तट is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other śūdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शूद्र is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a “doll of straw.” But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा + कन्लुप् (लुप्नुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चंचा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः ‘the delightful straw figure of man.’ वप्रिकाः दर्शनीयः ‘a beautiful representation of an eunuch.’

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा
प्रमाणत्वात्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of *saṃjñā* (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom; and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *सारा*: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly *आपः*: 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also *गृहाः वर्षाः सिक्ताः*. This *sūtra*, therefore, modifies the former *sūtras*, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālās*, *Kurava* &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of *Taddhita*; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्, योग-अप्रख्यानात्,
(अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुध्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृत्तयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति ॥

54. The *sūtras* declaring *lup* elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup* elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanâh is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varanâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अग्न्यवच्छ), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2 81 and 82 (जनपदेऽनुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

**योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, अदर्शनम्, स्यात्,**

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्ताइत्युक्तं, तद्यावद्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-
प्रमाणे हि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-
भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by lup elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchâlâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

**प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम्, अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्य) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तद्व्यशतिः ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थान्निधानमनेन प्रका-
रेण भवतीति पूर्वोच्यते: पारिभाषितम् प्रधानोपसङ्गने प्रधानार्थसहस्रतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौसहार्यं भूत इति ।
तन् पाणिनिराचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वाविति । अन्य इति शालापेक्षया
लोकोपपत्तिश्च, शब्दैरर्थान्निधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकेत एवावधिगते ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव् he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च,
तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kāla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas:—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses, they say, "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrihi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

. जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

जाति-आख्यायाम् , एकस्मिन् , बहुवचनम् , अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of aśishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kāśyapa may also be called kāśyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ग्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley' the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ग्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो योऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरावेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we to speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute :—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि. 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद्; as त्वं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरुवः. 'Thou art my master', or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of *Phālgunī* and *Proshṭha-padā*, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे कल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदितः पूर्वाः कल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunī and proshṭhapada are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number : as कल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वसोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वसोः, एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वसोश्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular, (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमस्तिर्वेता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in profane literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू. Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणविकौ .

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Viśâkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी वेता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वसोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रविषयेद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvanda compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखानुराधा: 'the stars Visákhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु; पुष्यपुनर्वसु, सिद्धपुनर्वसु ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इवामिति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual) वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms ; as *द्वत्त न्यग्रोधाः* the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word " form " is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekaśeṣha will apply, as *अक्षः* (die) + *अक्षः* (eye) + *अक्षः* (axle) = *अक्षः* : Similarly *पादाः* and *भाषाः* .

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word *शेष* (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (Ādeśa) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As *पयः* (1. s.) *पयो* (2. s.) *जलयति* ; *ब्राह्मणभ्यां* (3. d.) *च कृतं ब्राह्मणभ्यां* (4. d.) *च देहि* .

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेऽपि युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The *vṛiddha* (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekaśeṣha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called *yuvan*, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word śeṣha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The *yuvan* word is dropped when read along with a *Vṛiddha* word. The word *Vṛiddha* means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word *Vṛiddha* for gotra. The *vṛiddha* (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an *apatya* affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a *yuvan* affix, the *Vṛiddha* is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and *yuvan* are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (*अपत्यं पौत्रमृत्ति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा*) ॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a *vṛiddha* word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a *yuvan* word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) ¹ the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix क् denoting a secondary derivative. ² In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similary वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word) + वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ. Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 ³ says a "Vṛiddhā word may optionally take the affix ठक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix ठक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family the patriarch was known. For example, Garga or Gargāchārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grand-sons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgāyanas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(¹) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (²) यमिञ्भ्यो ॥ (³) वृद्धावृक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥६६॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल०वि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a *vṛiddha* affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a *yuvan* affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting *gotra* and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a *yuvan*, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous *sūtra* and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that *sūtra*. Thus *गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्गी*. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former *sūtra* namely the masculine.

Similarly *राक्षी + राक्षायणः = राक्षी* (masculine dual of *राक्षि*).

Vart—The word *stri* in the *sūtra* means *Vṛiddhā stri*, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words ‘*tal lakshanaś chedeva viśeṣaḥ*’ of the previous *sūtra* govern this *sūtra* also *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः , तल्लक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणश्चेदेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes *ekāśeṣa*, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words ‘*vṛiddha*’ and ‘*yuvan*,’ of *sūtra* 65, does not extend to this *sūtra*, but the remaining portion of *sūtra* 65 is to be read into this *sūtra*. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as *ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ* ‘the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Brāhmaṇī*’; *कुकुटः + कुकुरी = कुकुरौ* ‘the cock and hen.’

But not so in the following :—कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूरौ 'the cock and the peahen,' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the feminine affix डीष्, by which the word ganakî is formed from ganaka; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्, meaning the "wife of" a ganaka and not a feminine ganaka; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्यौ. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशब्दौशिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti पत्नीदुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrâtarah.

Here the word bhrâtarah, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrâtri, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेष, तल्लक्षणश्चदेवविशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमात्रकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकशिष्यते; एकवच्चास्य-कार्यं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

69. A neuter noun, which has the same form only differing in affix; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आनन्दरयो, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेव विशेषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुक्लञ्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च बृहत्तिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम्

70. The word pitri, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with māttri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्रवा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्रवा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्रासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrī, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वभू may be either श्वैशुरी 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्वश्वशुरी ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि , सर्वैः , नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां मिथोयद्व्यन्तपरंतत्ताच्छिष्यन्ते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as *ekāśeṣha*, (to the exclusion, of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim,' when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e.* *what-ever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart:—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुणेषु , स्त्री , (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्टिवन्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders ;

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls),' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As हरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), वृषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmapas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्व इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एनौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः , धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kṛi. 10. Chur.

There are nearly two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhātu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhātu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness ; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भुवादि ; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus.—“ Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhātu.”

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे , अच् , अनु-
नासिकः , इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicative, when occurring in technical words. Thus in किन्, विद्, विच् the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicative letters called इत्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root गृध् 'to increase,' the final अ is indicative, the real root is गृध्. So also the final अ of स्पृद्धे is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अथ औ अप ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् कनिच् वनिपथ) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (आदितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादेः समुदायरस्य यदनन्त्यं हल् तद्विस्मं भवति ॥

3. In upadeśa, the final consonant of roots &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ए; here ए is इत् ॥ ऋ लृ क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ्; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अमिचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषेण प्राप्तायामित्संज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमानानां त्वर्गं सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स्, and म्, are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and म्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word नु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त्, by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sūtra I 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (शङ्सिडसामिनास्त्याः) the vibhaktis इन्, आन् and एव replace टा, डसि and डस्. Here the final त् of the affix आन् is not indicative and hence not rejected, as वृक्षान्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्); युस् (V. 2. 123 ऊर्णाय युस्) and भम् (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्य भम्) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however does not apply to the vibhakti अन् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽन् or III. 4. 106, इतोऽन्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i. e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्थमुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti यमु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद् + यमु = इद्यम्, 'in this manner.' Now यमु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्विशो विभक्तिः) the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is यम्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicative letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of यम् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

आदिर्जितुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-दु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जि दु ड इत्ये तेषां समुदायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्स्वज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial *ji*, *tu*, and *du* are इत् ॥

The syllables जि, दु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicative; as जिमिषा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the जि is servile. So दुनदि 'to rejoice, be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुदाड् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The जि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (जीतः क्तः). As जिफला—फुल्लः 'blown'; जिमिषा—मिषः 'fat'; जिपृषा—पृष्टः 'bold,' जिद्विषा—द्विषः 'soft,' जिहन्धी—हृद्ः 'kindled.'

The दु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽथुच्); as दुवेष्टः—वेष्टुः 'shaking'; दुओशिव—श्वायथुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix जिम (III. 3. 88, द्वितः जिः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as **वृक्षम्**—**कृत्रिमम्** 'artificial' **दुपचम्**—**पक्विमम्** 'ripe'; **वृषम्**—**उप्विमम्** 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as **पठयति**, **कण्ठयति** &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य, (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial **ष** of an affix is indicatory.

The initial **ष** of an affix gets the name of **इत्** and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (**शिल्पिनि ष्वन्**) the affix **ष्वन्** is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The **ष** and **न्** are **इत्** and **अक्** takes the place of **वृ** (VII. 1. 1, **युवोरनाकौ**). Thus **नृन्** + **ष्वन्** = **नर्त्** + **अक्** = **नर्तक** 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. **नर्तकी** (IV. 1. 41, **षिद्वौराक्षिभ्यश्च** 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory **ष** take the affix **ङीप्** in the feminine.'): so also **रजकः** fem. **रजकी**.

The initial **ष** of an affix only is **इत्** and not every initial **ष**. Thus not in **षोडः** 'six,' or **षडिकः** ॥ The **ष** must be initial, therefore it is not **इत्** in the affix **दिषच्** in **अविमह्योदिषच्**, (Up I. 45) as **अविषः** 'an ocean' **महिषः** 'a buffalo.'

चुट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चुट् (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गं टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants **च्**, **छ्**, **ज्**, **झ्**, **ञ्**, **ट्**, **ड्**, **ड्य**, and **ण्** are always **इत्** and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix **चफञ्** *chphañ* in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 **गोत्रे कञ्जाक्षिभ्यश्चफञ्**). Here **च्** is indicatory, as, **कौञ्जाग्रन्यः** ॥ The initial **छ्** *chh* of an affix is always replaced by **ईय** (VII. 1. 2 **आयनेयीनीयियः फट् खच्छयां प्रत्ययादीनाम्**). The initial **ज्** of an affix is **इत्**. As, **जम्** (Nom. Pl. term.) **ब्राह्मणाः** ॥ The initial **झ्** of an affix is always replaced by **अन्त**, as **भू** + **शर्** + **झि** = **भवन्ति** ॥ (VII. 1. 3 **झोऽन्तः**). The initial **ञ्** of an affix is **इत्** as in **ज्य** which comes after the words **शाण्डिक** &c. As **शाण्डिक्यः** (IV. 3. 92 **शाण्डिकादिभ्योऽज्यः**). The indicatory **ञ्** causes *vṛddhi* by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (**अचोऽणिति**, **अन्तउपधायाः**, **तद्धितेऽण्यन्तादिः**).

The initial **ट्** *t* of an affix is **इत्** as in III. 2. 16 (**चरेटः** the root **चर्** takes the affix **ट** when compounded with a noun in the locative). As **कुरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminine of words formed by this affix take **ङीप्** (IV. 1. 15 **दिङ्माणञ्भ्रयसञ्** &c.) As **कुरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी**. The initial **ड्** of an affix is always replaced by **इक** (VII. 3. 50 **उस्येकः**.) The initial **ड्य** of an affix is **इत्** as in III. 2. 97 (**सप्तम्यां जनेड** the root **जन्** takes the affix **ड** when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called टि should be elided when an affix having indicatory ङ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एङ (VII. 1. 2).

The letter ण is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नासः) the affix ए comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ण = अणः. The ण causes Vridhhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याबुञ्चुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26 तेन वित्तभुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट् of the affix टीटच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारट्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ् नाटञ् भट्टट्), is not *it*. As अवटीटच् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ट् of the affix भट्टच् is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि घट्टट्च) कर्मटः 'dexterous.'

लशक्वतद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and ś, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in ल्युट् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युट्च १) चि + ल्युट् = चयनम् (VII. 1 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1 68 कर्त्तरि शप्) भू + शप् + तिप् = भो + भ + ति = भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवत् (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 मियवचो वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix *khach* when compounded with मिय and वश्) मियवदः 'speaking kindly' वशवदः 'submissive.' The initial ग् is इत् as in the affix ग्लु (III. 2. 139 ग्लानिस्थश्च ग्लु), ग्लान्तुः 'languid' जिष्णुः 'victorious,' स्थास्तुः 'unmoveable.' The initial घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासमिहो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भञ्जुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1 2), as सुमनस् + ङस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल् श् and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96 प्राप्तिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम + श्

= लोमश. (V. 2. 100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलत्र्) 'hairy;' वृक्ष + कर्त् = वृक्षक
(V. 3. 81-86 जानिनाम्नः कर्त्) 'a small tree'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the *whole* term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (sec. I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of मि, ङ्, and ङ् is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्गमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-सङ्गम्,
अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपठितानामुद्देशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्धश्चेत् ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिग्रहिपञ्चादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यच्चः) declares:—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, ग्रहि and पञ्च class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of ग्रहि class, and अच् to words of पञ्च class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, ॠ there is यण् i. e., य्, र्, ञ्, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तुदीशलातुरवर्मतीकृच्चवाराङ् इक् छण् ढञ् यक्) where the four affixes ḍhak, cchaṇ dhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tûdî, śalâtura, varmatî and kûchavâra; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मनेयः and कौचवार्ध्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90 लक्षणेत्थभूताख्यानभागवीक्षासु प्रति पर्यन्तः for here the words lakṣhaṇa &c. in the first part of

the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karmavachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakṣhaṇa (a mark), itthambhūtākhyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्यय. (III. 11.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), भव्य (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्त-ङ-इतः

आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ततो ये धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मनेपदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicative anudatta vowel (anudattet) or an indicative ñ (ñit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आस the final अ is anudatta and is इत्. It is therefore an Atmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So वृङ्-सूते, गीङ् गते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि आत्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लट्, लिट् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i. e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'); सुष्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भार 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices *viz.* active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तरि are also ātmanepadi. Thus लुप्यते कोदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्याति-
हारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्भातोऽत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are ātmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥
(आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो ह्यसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Ātmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Ātmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर,
अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य० आत्मने० न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परस्परौपपदाच्चैति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Ātmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेविशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb viś 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Ātmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the ātmanepada. As न्यविशत 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकरस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the **नि** is a part of the word **मयुनि** and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिच्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,

(आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिच्यवेभ्य उत्तरान् क्रीणतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb **krī** 'to purchase,' when preceded by **pari**, **vi** or **ava**, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb **दुक्क्रीञ्** 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory **ञ्** and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root **क्री** 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by **pari**, **vi**, or **ava**, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As **परीक्रीणीते** 'he buys'; **विक्रीणीते** 'he sells'; **अवक्रीणीते** 'he buys.'

The word **pari**, **vi**, and **ava** must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the **vi** there, is not a preposition but a noun, as, **बहविक्रीणीति वनम्**.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वान्जयतर्धन्तोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb **ji** 'to conquer,' preceded by **vi** or **parā**, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root **जि** is generally Parasmaipadi.

As **विजयते** 'he conquers' **पराजयते** 'he conquers.' The words **vi** and **parā** must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives **बह्विजयति वनम्**, **परा जयति सेना ॥**

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अनास्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वदशतेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ् कर्मकाचेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dâ* 'to give,' preceded by *ân*, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the *Atmanepada* affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root *दा* is generally both *Parasmaipadi* and *Atmanepadi* (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *आ*, it is restricted to the *Atmanepada*. As *विद्यामादत्ते* 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is *parasmaipadi*. As *आस्थं व्याददाति*. 'He expends his own mouth.'

Vart:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As *विपादिकां व्याददाति* 'he opens the tumour.' *कूलं व्याददाति नदी* 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart:—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is *Atmanepadi*, as *व्याददन्तपिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः , अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः , च , (आङः , आत्मने प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड् विहारे एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् आङ् पूर्वाद्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकुञ्जने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमेः क्षमायामात्मने पदे वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षाजिज्ञासायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्तृगतताच्छील्ये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतर्हर्षजीविका कुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङितुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krîḍ* 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *ân*, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the *sûtra* by virtue of the conjunction *च* in the text. As *आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते*, or *परिक्रीडते* 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb *क्रीड्* compounded with *सम्* means 'to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take *Atmanepada* terminations. As *क्रीडन्ति शकटानि* 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word *anu*, *pari* &c., being put along with *sam*, indicates that the *upasargas* *anu*, *pari* &c., are to be taken, and not the *karmapravachaniya* *anu* *pari* &c. Therefore, when these *refixes* are used as *karmapravachaniya*, they do not cause the verb *क्रीड्* to

take the âtmanepada terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति । 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachaniya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb आगम् takes the âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to over look' 'to have patience' as, आगमयस्व तावन् माणवकम् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb शिक्ष takes âtmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिक्षते 'he investigates sciences.

Vart.—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes âtmanepada terminations, as, सर्पिषो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नाथते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless?' Observe, माणवकमनुनायति, 'he begs of Manavaka.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैतृकमश्वा अनुहरन्ते 'the horses resemble their father.' मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb किरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वोऽश्रयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the âtmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls.' आपृच्छते गुरुम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes âtmanepada affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्यः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वान् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्यः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb sthâ 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb **स्था** when preceded by **आङ्** and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes *âtmanepada* terminations; as **अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते** ॥ Or to take another example, **जलं विशं वा तव कारणादास्थास्ये** 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः , च , (स्था , आत्मने०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb *sthâ* when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word *prakâśana* means disclosing one's intentions. The word *stheyâkhyâ* is a compound of *stheyâ* 'arbitrator' and *âkhyâ* 'name.'

As **तिष्ठते जायापत्ये** 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' **स्वसि-तिष्ठते**, 'he refers to thee for settlement,' **संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः**, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karna as his judge or umpire.'

उदेऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः , अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि , (स्था , आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन् पूर्वान् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद ईहायापिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *ut*, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat; the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As **गृहे उत्तिष्ठते** 'he strives for the house' so also **कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते** ॥ But **भासनादुत्तिष्ठति** 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition *ut* must be to express **ईहा**, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of *ut*, the terminations are those of the *Parasmaipada*. As **अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति** 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word **ईहा** qualifies the word '*anûrdhakarmaṇi*,' and does not debar the latter.

उपाश्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , मन्त्र-करणे , (स्था , आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादेवपूजावंगति करणमित्री करणपथिविति वाच्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्तायानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As *हेऽग्नागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते* 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as *भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन* 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Vart.—The verb *स्था* after the preposition *उप* takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st *Deva puja* *आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते* 'he worships the Aditya.' 2. *Sangati karaṇa* *पतिमुपतिष्ठते नारी* 'the wife approaches the husband,' *रथिकानुपतिष्ठते* 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. *Mitri karaṇa* *सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः* 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as *गङ्गायमुनामुपतिष्ठते* 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. *Patha*:—*अथ पन्थाः शृङ्गमुपतिष्ठते* 'this road leads to Srugghna.

Vart.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As *भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते* or *उपतिष्ठति* 'a beggar waits at the palace of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उप स्या आ०प०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकाक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As *भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते* 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' *यावदभुक्तमुपतिष्ठते* 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' *यावद्देशनमुपतिष्ठते* 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word *bhukta* is formed by adding the affix *кта* to the root, and has the force of 'condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb *upasthâ* takes the parasmaipada terminations. As *राजानमुपतिष्ठते* 'he approaches the king.'

उद्भिष्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विद्भ्येवं पूर्वान् तपतेरकर्मकाक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi* the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्यया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्तपति सुवर्णसुवर्णकारः, 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति वृष्टं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the *âtmanepada*, though the verb *ut-tapa* or *vi tapa* be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपतेपाणिम् or वितपतेपाणिम् or वृष्टं 'he heats his own hand or back' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the *pârîbhâshika* or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54 स्वाङ्गाद्यौपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञरक्षस्य वृष्टमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñalatta. When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed, as, निष्टपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् प्रा० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्योः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मने-पदे भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *âm*, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally *parasmaipadi*. When they take the affix *आ* they become *âtmanepadi*. *Yam* belongs to *Bhṛādi* class; and *han* to *Adādi* class. Thus आ + यम् + शप् + ते = आ + यच्छ + अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of *ish*, *gam* and *yam*, when an affix having an indicative *r* follows) = आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ + हन् + ते = आ + ह + ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37 अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो ग्लिरुडिति) = आहते, 'he strikes.' आ = हन् + आतं = आ + हन् + आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 38 सार्वधातुकमपित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङि र्यनङि) = आप्नते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेष्-मेनेषु) Pl. आप्नते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कुपान्न-जम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the inner with the foot.'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आयच्छते पणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिज्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः,
गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः, (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्तिश्रुविदिह्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' śrū 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvādi and Juhutyādi class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + ऋ + अङ् + त (III. 1. 56 सन्तिशारत्यर्तिभ्यश्च) = समृत, as मा समृत (VI. 4. 75 बहुलंछन्दम्याङ्गयोगेऽपि) सम् + ऋ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋदृशौऽङिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संगृणुते 'he hears,' संविस्ते 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root दृश (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as ग्रामम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो ह् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, ह्,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निसम उप वि इत्येषं पृथग् हुयतेर्द्धातीरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादित्यर्थोर्द्धा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadī after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a झ् and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb hve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Vart.—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—०ते 'he casts out,' समुहति—०ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (द्वः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये भ्रातृपुत्राद् ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb hve, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by âñ, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)' छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root hve takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhâ means to emulate, to vie, to desire to conquer another. When the verb hve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कजः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथनउपयोगेषु, कजः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb kri when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उरकुरुते, उदाकुरुते means he informs against (2) श्येनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail' (3) गणकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्राननुकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra.' (4). परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife.' (5). एधोदकम्योपस्कुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb कृि takes the affix of the sixth case i. e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्ने) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुङ् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna see VI. 1. 139. (उपान् प्रतियत्नं वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5). गाथाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander.' (6). शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कर्तं करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the ātmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb कृि is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अथेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथि पूर्वात् करोतिः प्रसहने वर्तमानाशङ्कनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb कृि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that कृि may take the ātmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to over come, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' in which example the ātmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द- कर्मणः, (कृजः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्त्रेभिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb *kṛi* preceded by *vi*, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word *karma* in the sūtra indicates objective case or *kāraka*; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As *क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान्* 'the birds are making noise,' *ध्वांसो विकुरुते स्वरान्* ॥

The word *वि* governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness *चित्तं विकरोति कामः* 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कृजः आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb *kṛi* preceded by *vi*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As *विकुर्वन्ते सैन्धवा* 'the horse move gracefully,' *ओवनस्य पूर्णाश्रच्छत्रा विकुर्वन्ते* 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननोत्सम्भवाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सम्भवन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एीञ्, प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्कर्त्रेभिप्रायेक्रियाफलैरात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सस्मृ ॥

36. After the verb *nī* 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz.*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammānana means to respect; as नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata śāstra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also, such a preceptor gives instruction in Lokâyata Śāstra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmānitā) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकमुपनयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achârya-karana 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so 'brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achârya. As माणवकमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)

Jñâna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयते चार्वी लोकायते 'the Chârvi investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛiti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा कर्त विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयति ग्रामम् 'he carries the goat to the village' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयतेः कर्त्तादेवत्तादिल्लकाराच्चः कर्तृस्थे कर्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्यु विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word śarīra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called śarīra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartṛistha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatha removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गङ्गु विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' पाठां विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिरुर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु,

क्रमः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्थांतरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (*i. e.*, a taste for, or facility in, anything), 'sarga energy' means application resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्षस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures *i. e.*, he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाय यनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गता-
यनेषुक्रमः आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेवृत्त्यादिव्यर्थेषु वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛtti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and parā, there is Atmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c., Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and parā'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as संक्रमति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमति, पराक्रमति.

आङउद्गमने ॥४०॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, उद्गमने (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by ān, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises' आक्रमन्ते ज्योतीषि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रमति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेऽप्ये वर्तमानाशास्त्रनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhātupaṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb कृति and कृनु have the meanings of pāda-viharana and pāda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupaṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति भजिनसन्धिः the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थोभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थोभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following पूर्वैद्युः प्रक्रमति अपरेद्युरुपक्रमति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं विद्युक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāṣā viṣ., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्नवे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपह्नवेः, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्नवे वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jñā, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jñā which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' क्षतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning 'to deny?' observe :—न खं किंचिदपि जानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकात्कर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jñā, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jñā is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb jñā is intransitive? Because the word सर्पिः is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpishah) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविश्यस्य करणे) by which the instrumental kāraka of the jñā is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिभ्येवं पूर्वाज्ञानातेरनाध्याने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jñā, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jña* is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that *jña* which is used in the transitive. As *सहस्रं संजानीते* 'he looks for a hundred,' so *सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते* 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus *मातुः संजानाति* 'he remembers with regret his mother' *पितुः संजानाति* ॥

भासनोपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपसम्पन्नेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥

भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपसम्पन्नेषु , वदः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing" brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra 78, *vad* generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada, by the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते*. The *chârvi* illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāshā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as *कर्मकरानुपवदते* he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

Jñāna (knowledge) means to know completely as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते* the *chârvi* knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.

Yatna (endeavour) means energy as *क्षेत्रे वदते*. 'He toils in the field,' *गृहे वदते* 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As *क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते*. 'They disagree over the field' *i. e.*, holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret as, *कुलभार्यानुपवदते* 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (*i. e.*, seduces her in secret)' *परदारानुपवदते* 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See *यन् किञ्चिद्वदति* 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचास् , सम्-उच्चारणे , (वदः , आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्रवर्त्तमानावदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As *संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः* 'the Brāhmanas are speaking.' But in *संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः* 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb *vad* takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be *samuchchāraṇa* for the application of this rule, when there is no *samuchchāraṇa* or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as *ब्राह्मणो वदति* 'the Brāhman speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेः , अकर्मकात् , (वदः , आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्दन्तेरकर्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विषयाश्चात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb *vad*, preceded by *anu* when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As *अनुवदते कठः कलापस्य* *kāṭha* is echoing or imitates *kalapa*. He reutters exactly what the *kalāpa*-reader or the teacher says. The word *anu* here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As *पूर्वमेव यजुरुदितमनुवदति* he repeats the *yajurveda* which he had learned before.

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise *अनुवदति वीणा* the lute resounds, here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , विप्रलापे , (वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रलापात्मकं व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्दन्तेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As *विप्रवदन्ते* or *वैद्याः* (the doctors are at variance). The words *vyaktavāchāom* (articulate utterance) and *samuchchāraṇa* (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as *संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः*. The Brāhmanas are speaking together.

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as *विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः* the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , ग्रः , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root grî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grî taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudâdi class, it is not the grî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryâdi class. Because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi, the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति he swallows.

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानाशात्मनेपदं भवति ।

52. After the verb grî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As शनं संगिरते (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति मासम् he swallows the mouthful.

उदश्चरः सकर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वाश्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनाशात्मनेपदं भवति ।

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As गेहमुच्चरते he strays away from home; गुरुवचनमुच्चरते he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्त्वृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया-युक्तात् , (चरः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाश्चरतेस्त्वृतीयायुक्ताशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb *char*, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

As अश्वेन संचरते he rides on the horse-back.

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चातुं च देवज ! O Devala ! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that. Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the *parasmaipada* terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः , च , सा , चेत् , चतुर्थी-अर्थे , (समस्तु० यु० चरः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणदाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् दत्तीयाद्युक्तादात्मनोपदे भवति साचेत् दत्तीया चतुर्थ्ये भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे दत्तीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb *dâ* to give, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the *Atmanepada* is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्या or वृषल्या संप्रयच्छते (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb *dâ* to give, is generally *parasmaipadi*, it becomes *âtmanepadi* under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, *parasmaipada* terminations will be used, as पाणिना संप्रयच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the *âtmanepada* terminations are employed when the preposition *sam* is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition *pra*, intervenes between *sam* and the verb. The reply is that the word *samah* in sūtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यनः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , यनः , स्वकरणे , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यनः स्वकारणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनोपदे भवति ॥

56. After the verb *yam*, to give, preceded by *upa*, when used in the sense of "espousing," the *Âtmanepada* is employed.

This is clear. As *भार्यामुपयच्छते* he espouses or knows his wife. But not so when another's wife is meant, there it is *parasmaipadi*.

By rule 78, the verb *yam* would have been *parasmaipadi*, but the present *sûtra* makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition *upa* and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to *Kâsika*; according to *Mahâbhâshya*, *sva-karana* means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense *parasmaipada* affixes will be employed as *देवदत्तो यत्नदत्तस्य भार्यामुपयच्छति*, *Devadatta* has illicit intercourse with the wife of *Yajñadatta*.

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम्, सनः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *sru*, to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dṛśi* to see, the *Âtmanepada* is employed.

The above four roots are *Âtmanepadi* when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "*san*" being the *pratyaya* by which desideratives are formed.

The verb *jñā* takes the terminations of the *Âtmanepada* when used in the senses indicated by the three *sûtras* 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of *jñā* would *ex necessitate* take *Âtmanepada* affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present *sûtra* however enlarges the scope of *Âtmanepada* by declaring all desideratives of *jñā* to be *Âtmanepada*, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by *sûtra* 29 ante and the *vârtika* under it, the roots *śru*, and *dṛśi*, take the terminations of the *Âtmanepada*, when preceded by *sam*, the desideratives of those would of course have taken *Âtmanepada* affixes by 62, but the present *sûtra* makes it general.

The present *sûtra* however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root *smṛi*.

As *धर्मं जिज्ञासते* he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion *गुरुं श्रुश्रुषते* he serves the teachers, *नष्टं सुस्मृषते* he wishes to remember the lost. *नृपं विदृक्षते* he wishes to see the king.

Why do we say, when taking the affix *san*? Because the primitive verbs will take the *parasmaipada* terminations as *जानाति* he knows; *शृणोति* he hears, *स्मरति* he remembers *पश्यति* he sees,

नानोर्धः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , ऋः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाञ्जानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Âtmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not âtmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति he enquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the âtmanepada terminations. As धर्मं जिज्ञासते he inquires after religion.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छ्रुणोतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of śru when preceded by prati and ān the Âtmanepada is not used.

The verb śru when taking the prefixes prati and ān, is not âtmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिशुश्रूषति and आशुश्रूषति ॥

The word prati and ān must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply As देवदत्तं प्रति शुश्रूषते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिवासीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

60. After the verb śad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory ś (sit) the Âtmanepada is used.

The root 'śad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the âtmanepadi. In connection with this, must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पाभ्राभ्यास्थात्रादाण्ड् इत्यसिर्तिशदसर्वापिबजिब्रधमति उमनयच्छप्यर्धधौ शीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before affixes having an indicatory श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते he decays or withers, शीयते they two decay शीयन्ते they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes, it is not âtmanepadi. As अशस्वत् if he decayed, शस्वति he will decay, शिशस्वति .

The well-known vikaranas like शप् , श &c., the affixes like शट् &c., are शित् affixes. In other words the root śad is âtmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

म्रियतेर्लङ्लिङ्गोश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते , लुङ्-लिङोः , च (शितः
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेर्लङ्लिङ्गोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb *mṛi* to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicative *श*, as well as when it takes the affixes *luṅ* (Aorist III. 2. 110) and *liṅ* (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the *Atmanepada* is used.

This is a restrictive *sūtra*, the root *mṛ* (to die), is marked with a *ङ्* as an indicative letter, so by *sūtra* 12 it would be always *Atmanepadi*. But the present aphorism restricts it to *लुङ्* *luṅ* (Aorist) and *लिङ्* *liṅ* (Benedictive) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are *सिन्*. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take *सिन्* affixes are the special tenses *i.e.*, the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, *liṅ*, *luṅ* and *ṣit* affixes, that the root *mṛi* takes the terminations of the *âtmanepada*. Thus the aorist *अमृत* *amṛita* he died; Benedictive *मृषीष्ट* *mṛishishta* 'may he die.' Similarly before *ṣit* affixes thus *म्रियते* 'he dies,' = *मृ* + *श* + *ते* (VII. 4. 28 *रिङ् शयग्लिङ्गु*) *म्रिय* + *अ* + *ते* = *म्रियते* (VI. 4. 77. *अधि श्नुधातुसुंवां य्योरियङ्गवडौ*) *म्रियेते*, *म्रियन्ते* The root *मृ* belongs to the sixth class of verbs called *Tudâdi* which take the *vikarâṇa श* in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is *parasmaipadi*. As:—*मरिष्यति* he will die. *अमरिष्यत्*.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत् , सनः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्ताशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is *Atmanepadi* in its primitive form before the taking of the affix *san*, will also be *Atmanepadi* when it ends in the affix *san*. In other words; after a desiderative verb, *Atmanepada* is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is *parasmaipadi*, its desiderative will be also *parasmaipadi*; if the primary verb is *Atmanepadi*, its desiderative will be *Atmanepadi*. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in *sūtras* 57, 58, and 59. A root which was *âtmanepadi*, before taking the Desiderative affix *सन्* *san*, will be *âtmanepadi* even when it takes the affix *सन्* *san*. In other words, that by reason of which the *âtmanepada* affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-

tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudātta accented vowel as indicative or aङ् ṅ as their indicative letter take the terminations of the Âtmanepada. Thus आसं he sits down and सोते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain Âtmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus आसिष्यते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष् is Âtmanepadi as निविष्यते, this will be Âtmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविष्यते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, आक्रमते is Âtmanepadi, the Desiderative आचक्रस्यते will also be Âtmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61. शीयते and म्रियते are Âtmanepadi, yet शिष्यस्यति 'he wishes to lie down' मुमृष्यति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the Âtmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots णच् and षच् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take Âtmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the Âtmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As आमुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate,' परामुचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृच् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of Âtmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of च् causing Âtmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of Âtmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिज्, कित्, मान्, बध्, शान् and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicative letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स तितिज्, चिकित्स, मीमांस, बीभत्स, शीशान्स and शीशान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायरस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates &c.

**आत्मप्रत्ययवत्कृजोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म-प्रत्ययवत्,
कृजः, अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मप्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृजोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *âm*, if the verb be conjugated with the Âtmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kri* when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Âtmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding आम् to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or Âtmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एध (to increase, prosper) is Âtmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the Âtmanepada. Thus एधांचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इत् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इत्वाश्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एधाम्बभूव, एधामास.

The word *âm-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *âm* (III. I. 35 and 36. कात्मप्रत्ययादामन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb *kriñ*, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the Âtmanepada like the verb that takes the affix *âm*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the Âtmanepada even in examples like उदङ्गांचकार and उदम्भाचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a *vidhi* (a general injunction) and a *niyama* (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word *pūrvavat* of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a *niyama* or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40 कृश्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb kṛiñ is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take ām. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word kṛiñ is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृङ्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word kṛi is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अभूततद्भावे कृषस्तिथोगे &c., and the letter ñ is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृमोद्वितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb kṛiñ is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must however be noted that the word kṛiñ in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयत्तपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयत्त-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयत्तपानप्रयोगविषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजिर् 'to join' is svaritet, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always ātmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of ātmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the ātmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As हन्द् न्यक्षि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति .

Vārtika:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपयुङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and इद्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निर् and इर्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्णुवः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्णुवः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्णु तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्णशास्त्रेणैव भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्णु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्णुते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon' संक्णुवते 'they two whet' संक्णुवते 'they all whet'.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam richchha &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपाजनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधाशौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपाजने वर्तमानाशास्त्रेणैव भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुङ्क्ते 'he eats or enjoys' also bhuñjāte, bhuñjate &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons' भुनक्त्येवमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore विभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

जेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जेः, अणौ, यत्, कर्म, णौ, चेत्, सः, कर्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्ताशास्त्रेणैव भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेव कर्म, स एव कर्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यायं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix णि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-णि or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal ; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the *âtmanepadi*, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was in the objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative ; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice they are *âtmanepadi*. This round-about phraseology has been employed because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form ; as *आरोहयते हस्तिपकान् हस्ती* .

The phrase 'णे: (after the causatives)' of this *sûtra* governs the four succeeding *sûtras* and is understood in them. The *sûtra* consists of the following words :—*ए:* 'after the causative ;' *अणौ* 'in the non-causative ;' *यत्* 'what ;' *कर्त्तुं* 'object ;' *णौ* 'in the causative ;' *चेत्* 'if ;' *स:* 'that ;' *कर्त्ता* 'nominative ;' *अनापदानं* 'except to remember.'

In general, by *sûtra* 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the *âtmanepada*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present *sûtra* applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix *णिच्*, the terminations are those of the *âtmanepada*. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively ; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb *आरोहन्ति* into a causative form. The sentence then will be, *आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव* 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted'. Similarly *उपसिञ्चन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and *उपसिञ्चयते हस्ती स्वयमेव* 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; *पश्यन्ति भूयः राजानम्* 'the attendants see the king'; and *दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव* 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this *sûtra* will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix *णिच्*; as *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant,' and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहि* 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-*pi*'? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix *णिच्*; such are the roots of the tenth class or *churādi* in which the *pi*ch is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root *गण* belongs to *churādi* class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As *गणयति गणं गोपालकः* 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is *गणयति गणः स्वयमेव* 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'when the object (*karma*) becomes the agent.' Because the rule will not apply, when any other *kāraka* or case, than the *karma* or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus *हृनति हन्त्रेण* 'he cuts with the scythe,' *लावयति हन्त्रं स्वयमेव* 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word *dātṛa* was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the *sūtra*? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb *सेचयति* in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्* 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word *सः* 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of *parasmaipada* are only used. *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्* 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word *kartā* (agent) in the *sūtra*? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the *parasmaipada* only would be used. As *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and *तानारोहयति महामात्रः* 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, *स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः* 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and *स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव* 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः , हेतु-भये , (जे , आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेः स्मयतेश्च एयन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhî to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens,' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens' &c. .

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकयैनं भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्माययति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

• गृध्रिवज्रयोः प्रलम्बने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृधि-वज्रयोः , प्रलम्बने , (जे : आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृध्रु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वज्रञ्चु गतावस्थेतयोर्ध्वन्तयोः प्रलम्बने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs grīdh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्बन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्भयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As इवान् गर्भयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः ; संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , (जेः प्रलम्बने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तासंमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानाशत्मनेपदं भवति च शब्दात् प्रलम्बने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb *li* to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in *णि*' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots *ली*, one is technically called *लीङ्* and means to stick, and belongs to divadi class. The other *ली* meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what *ली* is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word *च* in the sūtra is to include the word *प्रलम्बन* 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word *संमानन* means to show respect. The word *शालीनीकरण* means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair,' श्येनो वनिकामुल्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge,' कस्त्वामुल्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra *विभाषा लीयते*: VI. I. 51 declares that the ई of *ली* is optionally changed into *आ* before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root *ली* has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of *आ* is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. I. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकमुल्लापयति.

मिथ्यापपदात्कृजोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात् , कृजः ; अभ्यासे , (जेः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदाशत्मनेपदं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb *kri*, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word *mithya*, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in **णि**' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word *abhyāsa* means doing again, or repetition; as **पठं मिथ्या कारयति** means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly that is with wrong accent &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word *mithyā* is used as an upapada?' The causative of *kṛi* will take *parasmaipada* when it has any other upapada. Thus **पठं सुष्ठुम् कारयति** 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb *कुञ्*'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word *mithyā* will not have *ātmanepada*; as **पठं मिथ्या वाचयति** 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here *वच्* takes *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then *parasmaipada* will be used; as **पठं मिथ्याकारयति** 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥७२॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले (जे: आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो ये धातवो जितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रायेति।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory ñ (ñit), the terminations of the *Atmanepada* are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The *anuvṛitti* of the phrase **एः** does not go further. The word *क्रियाफलं* is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the *ātmanepada* is used after verbs having an indicatory **ञ** or a svarita accent. As **यजते** 'he sacrifices for himself' **पचते** 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb **यज्** and **पच्** are marked with svarita accent in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and therefore they take the *ātmanepada* terminations.

Similarly **सुजुते** 'he presses the soma-juice,' **कुरुते** 'he does.' Here the verbs **सुज्** and **कृज्** have an indicatory **ञ**.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, eating of food &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat. &c. .

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)' कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent; but to a third party.

अपाद्दः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्भवते कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sūtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिचश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix णि. (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sūtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच् nich are generally causatives. As कटं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself' श्वेदं शचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कटं कारयति परस्य he causes another's mat to be made.

समुदाङ्भ्यो यसो ऽग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यसः, अग्रन्थे (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वार्थमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ग्रन्थविषयश्चेत्ययोगोऽन भवति ॥

75. After the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by *sam*, *ut* and *ân*, when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by anuvritti from sūtra 72. As *म्रीहीन् संयच्छते* 'he gathers rice' *भारमुद्यच्छते* 'he lifts up the load' *वस्त्रमायच्छते* 'he draws out the cloth.' The root *yam* preceded by the preposition *आङ्* takes the terminations of the Atmanepada by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different sūtras for one compound verb *आयम्*.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the *parasmaipada*. As *उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः* 'the physician studies diligently the medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are *parasmaipadī*. As *संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति*.

अनुपसर्गाङ्गः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गत्, ङः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाङ्गानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb *jñā* when not preceded by any *upasarga*, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this sūtra also. Thus *गां जानीते* 'he recognises the cow as his own'; *अश्वं जानीते* 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any *upasarga*? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the Atmanepada terminations; as *स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मूढः* 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root *ज्ञा* takes *parasmaipada* terminations. *देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति* 'he recognises Devadatta's cow.'

विभाषापपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वापेक्ष्यमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada *i.e.*, by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं यज्ञं यजति or यजते 'he sacrifices for his own yajña' स्वं कटं करोति or कुरुते 'he makes his own cot.' स्वं पुत्रमपवदति or अपवदते, स्वमादनं पाचयते or पाचयति &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्तरि, परस्मैपदम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुशासितं आत्मनेपदमुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest *i.e.*, after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed, in marking the agent (*i.e.*, in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else that is to say where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word śeṣha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudātta vowel or a ङ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आस्ते, क्षते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudātta accent or a ङ as it. Thus याति 'he goes,' वाति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root विश् when preceded by ने takes Atmanepada termination, as निविशते. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaipada termination. As आविशति, विविशति.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पच्यते 'it is cooked' गम्यते 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively?

As in the following example:—पच्यते आसन्नः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra, the word कर्तरि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृञः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृञः ।

(परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वान् करोते. परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb kri to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging" &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling" &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicative ञ्. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति he imitates, पराकरोति he does well.

अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः ।

क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वान् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb kship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on' प्रक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say "when coming after abhi, prati, and ati"? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राद्वह, ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राद् । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वार्धे वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह to carry is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as आवहते 'he brings.'

परेर्मृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वार्धे मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते .

According to some authors, the root वह of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह preceded by परि will also take parasmaipada terminations ; as परिवहति .

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिभ्येवं पूर्वार्धमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ān, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudāttet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations ; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest' ; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As अभिरमते .

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रसः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाङ्गमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति . This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच् .

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram ; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रसः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाङ्गमतेः कर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावदुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रदुस्रुभ्योणेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन एङ्-प्-दु-स्रु-भ्यः । णेः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु इत्येतेभ्योऽप्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, naś to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ni (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands बोधयति he causes to fight ; नाशयति he causes 'destruction, जनयति he begets ; अध्यापयति he teaches ; प्रापयति he causes to obtain ; प्रावयति he causes to melt ; सावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with a reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with a reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, योधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys the sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus प्रु means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and स्रु means 'to flow' as well as to 'trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्रवति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अग्रि .

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः !

च । (जेः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योऽग्र्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (छेः) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं 'means' 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगारयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat. भोजयति he feasts. चलयति he moves; क्षोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects i.e., not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root अद् to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद् to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus आनि देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तं he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणाद्यकर्मकाच्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणौ । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकत् (जेः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । 'अग्र्यन्तो यो धातु रकर्मकश्चित्तवत्कृतकश्चतस्माद्ग्र्यन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase **हे** is understood here also. [The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As **आस्ते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sits: **आसयते देवदत्तं** he makes Devadatta to sit. **शेते देवदत्तः** Devadatta sleeps, **शाययति देवदत्तं** he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajnadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is **आरोहयते** in the Atmanepada, from the root **आरुह** to mount; and not **आरोहयति**.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from **कारि** the causative from **कृ**, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only **कारयते** though the person has a will; for the original root **कृ** though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from **शोषि** the causative from **शुष** 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as **व्रीहयः** 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action *i.e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes **शोषयते** in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, **शोषयते व्रीहीनामपः** the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादस्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहुरुचिनृतिवद्वसः ॥८९॥ पदानि ॥

न । पा-दमि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (जेः । परस्मै-पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वद्वसः इत्येते-षोऽयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पादिषु धेट् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs *pâ* to drink, *dam* to tame, *âyam* to extend, *âyas* to exert oneself, *parimuh* to be bewildered, *ruçh* to shine, *nṛit* to dance, *vad* to speak, and *vas* to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root *पा* to drink, has the sense of *nigaraṇa* or swallowing, the roots *दम* &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root *नृत्* to dance has the sense of *चलन* or moving, but still these verbs have Atmanepada affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As *पाययते* he causes to drink, *दमयते* he causes to be tame, *आयामयते* he lengthens, *आयासयते* he troubles, *परिमोहयते* he entices, *रोचयते* he makes agreeable, *नर्तयते* he causes to dance, *वादयते* he makes to speak, *वासयते* he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root *धे* should be enumerated along with *पा* &c. Thus *धापयेते शिशुमेक समीची*. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix *kyash*.

The affix *क्यष* is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 *भृशादिभ्यो भूव्यञ्च वेजोपश्च हन्*: after the words *लोहित* &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As *लोहितायति* or *ते* he reddens. *पठयति* or *ते* he makes *paṭ paṭ*.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs *dyut* to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of *luṅ* (aorist) follow.

The *Dyutādi* verbs are 22 in number, to be found in *Dhātupāṭha* in the *Bhuadi* class. By the use of the word *द्युद्भ्यः* in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are *anudatta* and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably *Atmanepadi*, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अश्नुत or अद्योतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुट्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As द्योतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupaṭha.

वृद्भ्यः स्यसनेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्भ्यः । स्य-सनेः । (वा ।

परस्मैपद) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृधु शधु स्यन्क्त्पु । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्येसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the द्युतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, शध् to fart or break wind; स्यन्कु to ooze, and कृप् to be able. As 1st Future वर्स्यति or वर्त्तिष्यते, it will be, conditional अवरस्यत् or अवर्त्तिष्यत्, Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवर्त्तिषते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्त्तते it is.

लुटिचकृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च । कृपः । (स्यसने वा

परस्मैपद)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनेश्चकृपे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb kṛip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when luṭ (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb कृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, द्युतादि of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present śūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट्. Thus in Luṭ we have:—कल्प्सि or कल्प्सिसे thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पिष्यते or कल्पस्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विकल्पसति or विकल्पिषते; in the conditional we have:—अकल्पस्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत्.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कङ्काराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कङ्काराः कर्मधारय इति वक्ष्यति आ एतस्मात् सूत्रावधेयं दित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः
तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadā-rāḥ Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, *i.e.*, 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत्. Similarly अररक्षत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्,
कार्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called

vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavâda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares :—'When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sūtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyaḥ = Vṛikshēbhyāḥ.

यूस्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमुकारान्तं च स्याख्यं शब्दरूपं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long î and û being names of females are called Nadî.

The word यू is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवामू yavāmū rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadî class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आद् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicative इ when they come after a word ending with a Nadî.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कमार्यै, the dative of दुहित्र will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadî. As ग्रामणीः leader of a village; सेनानीः leader of an army; खलपूः a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खलप्वे.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्वे स्त्रियै.

ने यडुवड्स्थानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उवङ्-स्थानी,

अस्त्री, (युनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ्-उवङ्-स्थानं मनयोस्ति यडुवड्स्थानौ चो यू नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in \hat{i} and \hat{u} which admit the substitute (इयङ्) $iyāṇ$ and (उवङ्) $uvāṇ$ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadī; except the word $strī$, (which is called $nadī$ notwithstanding its substituting $iyāṇ$).

The definition of Nadī given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, ब्रू, brow, admit the substitutes $iyāṇ$ and $uvāṇ$ respectively, and are not $nadī$. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे ब्रू. &c., while the vocative singular of $strī$ is हे स्त्री.

वाङ्मि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आमि, (नेयडुवङ्-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ्ङस्थानी यू आमिपरतो वा नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in \hat{i} and \hat{u} , though admitting $iyāṇ$ and $uvāṇ$ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadī, when the affix $\hat{ām}$ (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word $strī$, which is always Nadī.

श्री + आम् = श्री इयङ् + आम् = श्रियाम्; ब्रू + आम् = ब्रूवाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुर् + आम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम्; ब्रू + आम् = ब्रूणाम्. But $strī$ is always $nadī$, and we have स्त्रीणाम् $strīṇām$.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

डिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यू स्या-नदी-इयडुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिति परतो ह्रस्वश्च व्योः सम्बन्धी यः स्याद्यो इयङ्ङस्थानी च यू वा नदीसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory \hat{n} (nit) follows, then feminine words ending in short \hat{i} and \hat{u} are optionally termed Nadī, as well as feminine nouns in long \hat{i} and \hat{u} which admit of $iyāṇ$ and $uvāṇ$; but not so the word $strī$, which is always Nadī.

Feminine words in long \hat{i} and \hat{u} have been defined as $nadī$, words in short vowels can never be termed $nadī$, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take $iyāṇ$ and $uvāṇ$. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory \hat{n} follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory \hat{n} are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मतये or मरये धेनवे or धेनवे भ्रिये or भ्रिये; Ablative Genitive मतेः or मर्याः धेनो or धेन्याः भ्रियः or भ्रियाः; Locative मतौ or मर्याम् धेनौ or धेन्यां भ्रियि or भ्रियां . So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But strī is always स्त्रिये &c.

शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, घि, असखि, (ह्रस्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषो ऽत्र विसंज्ञो भवति सखिशब्दं वर्जयित्वा । कश्च शेषः ? ह्रस्वमिवर्णोत्पत्तिः यन्नस्याख्यं, स्यादख्यं च यन्ननदीसंज्ञकं स शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory ण, the ghi nouns guṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + डे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये to the fire. So also वायु × डे = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ .

पतिः समास एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः, समासे, एव, (घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समास एव विसंज्ञो भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पत्ये and प्रजापतये; पत्युः and प्रजापतौ; पत्यौ and प्रजापतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four डित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

षष्ठी युक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः, छन्दसि, वा, (पतिः घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि विषये वा, विसंज्ञो भवति ॥

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an

कुलुञ्चानां पश्ये or पश्ये नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe मया पश्या जरद्विष्ययासः .

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe मामस्य पश्ये .

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमक्षरं लघुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of भिद् to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gunated before the affix ता + आ, as भेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gunated before a Sarvadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix. So also हेत्ता, अचीकरत् and अजीहरत् .

संयोगे गुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगे परतो ह्रस्वमक्षरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of शिक्षा 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिक्षा is derived from शिक्ष + अ (III. 3. 103, let the affix अ come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुण्डा and भिक्षा .

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, च, (गुरु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घमक्षरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As ई of ईहांचक्रे he endeavoured, ईक्षांचक्रे he saw. Here the letter ई is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment अम् . Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ऽङ्गम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात् ॥

प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, अङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाश्च तदादि यस्मात् प्रत्यये परतो ऽङ्गसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadā li, 1. S. that which begins therewith; pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do हतः he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अंग they are guṇated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The words कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix ता &c. उपगु + अण् = औपगवः; कपःवः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are anga with regard to अण्. Similarly कृ + स्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix वाङ् is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i.e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or नृन् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नृन् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + î = kuṇḍan + î = kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix î by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in स्त्री + इयती = स्रयती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between ई + इ = ई. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by इयङ् (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रिययति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga.' Thus in इयि अधुना, though the affix adhunā is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule ; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the इ of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रियै + अर्थ = ल्यर्थे for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + अर्थे would have been स्त्रियर्थे, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tin III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined ; and tin are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण + जस् = ब्राह्मणाः the Brāhmanas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here ; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See. III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राजीव 3rd Per. 3. राजीवति he

behaves like a king. So also राजन् + क्यङ् = राजायते (VII. 4. 25.) चर्मन् + क्यप् = चर्मायते or चर्मायति. The result of its being called pada is that the न् of राजन्, चर्मन् &c., is elided by Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of न् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prātipadika). Thus राजन् + क्यप् = राज + य = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (*i.e.*, words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sūtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sūtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in न् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, लुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and लुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory स follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sūtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sūtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes डक् and छस् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix छस् has an indicatory स्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः VII. 1. 2. belonging to you. The result of being pada is that त् is changed into द् (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly स् is इत् in युस् (After the word ūrṇā there is yus V. 2. 123). Thus ऊर्णायुः; so also वस् V. 1. 106, has स् as indicatory. Thus ऋत्विजः There is no guṇa because of its being pada.

स्वादिभ्य सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sūtra. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन् + भ्याम् = राजभ्याम्, राजनिः, राजतश्च, राजता, राजतस्, राजतम्. The result is that by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजन् + औ = राजानौ two kings. राजानः kings. The न् is not elided.

यच्च भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वसु)

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादावजादौ च स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभौऽङ्गिरामनुषा वृष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषण्यसवश्चयोः ॥

18: And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यम् (IV. 1. 105) गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वासयः. The affix याँ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final अ is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष + इम् = दक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दक्षिः. Here the affix इम् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final अ of daksha.

The word यच्चि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

Vart:—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras. मनुष्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the स् is not changed into र्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart:—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषण्वसुः; वृषण्वश्वस्य मेने. Here had the word vṛṣhan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ण (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, मत्-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दरूपं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word उश्वित्वात् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उश्वित्वात् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युत्वात् बलाहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् famous ;

पयस्वी full of milk. Thus उद्वित् + वत् = उद्वित्वत्, यशस् + विनि (V. 2. 121) = यशस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त् of udaśvit &c., and the स् of yaśas &c., are not changed into इ and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. viz., उद्विद्वत् and यशोविन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि,
छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस् + मय = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्म iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्त् formed by ऋच् + वत्, the च् is first changed into क् by treating the word ऋच् as a pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋग्वत् Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुद्भास ऋक्ता गणेन .

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ।'

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Aavyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्वयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-
एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि-एकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारी वेदितव्यः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कारक इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kâraka; 'food' is object kâraka; 'vessel' is a locative kâraka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka.

The word 'kâraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kârakas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kâraka to a verb.

ध्रुवमपाये उपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं यदपाययुक्तं मपाये साध्ये यद्वधिभूतं तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apâdâna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apadâna kâraka. Thus ग्रामाद्गच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वताद्बरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from chariot. The Apadâna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3. 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grâma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart:—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus:—अधर्माङ्गणप्सते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माहिरमति he ceases from injustice. धर्माप्रमादति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (कारके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्यर्थानां त्रायत्यर्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्यस्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called *Apâdâna kâraka*.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरेभ्यो बिभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरेभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरेभ्यस्त्रायते or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसाढः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असाढः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोढो योऽर्थः सोढुं नशक्यते तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb *parâjî*, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called *Apâdâna kâraka*.

When the verb *जि* to conquer, with the preposition *parâ* has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानां नीप्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईप्सितः (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे य ईप्सितोऽर्थः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

27. In case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or *Apâdâna kâraka*.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called *vârana* or prevention. As यदेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withhold the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्वी येनादर्शन मिच्छति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्वी, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्वीनिमित्तं येनादर्शनमाल्लनइच्छतितत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna karaka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते or निनीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिष्टुं he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायाद्धीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य शृणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्यजन्मनः कर्त्ता जायमानः तस्यया प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादान-संज्ञंभवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apâdâna.

That which is the Agent (कर्त्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्त्ता : That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan

is put in the ablative case. As **शृङ्गाच्छतो जायते**, the arrow is produced from horn **गोमयाद् वृश्चिको जायते** the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूकर्तुः प्रभवो य स्तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb *bhu*, to become, is called *Apādāna*.

The phrase 'of the agent (*kartuh*), is understood here. The word *प्रभव* means the source or that from which anything arises. As *हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति* the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. *काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति*. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहण मपि कर्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

Though the word *कर्मणा* in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* he gives the cow to the teacher. *माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति* he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As *आद्धाय निगर्हते* he censures for the sake of *Sraddha*. *युद्धाय सनहते* he prepares for battle. *पत्ये शेते* she sleeps for her husband.

Vart:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (*karma*) gets the name of Instrument (*karana*) and the recipient (*Sampradāna*) is called object (*karma*).

Thus *पशुना रुद्रं यजते* or *पशुं रुद्राय ददाति* he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुचि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो बोध्यं स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root *ruch* 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called *Sampradâna* or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (*artha*) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ . A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. यत्नदत्ताय स्वदते उपपूः Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here *modaka* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि. Devadatta likes *modak* in the way. The word *pathi* being in the 7th case.

श्लाघन्हुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लाघ-हुङ्-
स्था-शपाप्, ज्ञीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लाघ न्हुङ् स्था शप् इत्येतेषां ज्ञीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थं स्तत् कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥

34. In case of verbs *ślâgh* to praise, *hnu* to take away, *sthâ* to stand, and *śap* to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called *Sampradâna*.

The word *ज्ञीप्स्यमान* means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As देवदत्ताय श्लाघते he praises Devadatta, *i.e.*, while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As देवदत्ताय ह्नुते he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta. देवदत्ताय निष्ठते she offers herself to Devadatta for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). देवदत्ताय शपते he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघति पथि . Here *pathi* is in the Locative case.

धारे उत्तमर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो योऽर्थं सत्कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb *dhâri* 'to owe,' the creditor is called *Sampradâna*.

The word *उत्तमर्ण* is compounded of two words उत्तम best and ऋण debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to ऋधमर्ण debtor. As देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय एतंधारयति ग्रामे he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीप्सितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईप्सितः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पश्यते, तस्य ईप्सितो योऽर्थस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानं संज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprīh* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradāna karaka*.

The verb *स्पृह* to desire, belongs to the *churādi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires flowers, *फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe *पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति* he desires flowers in the forest. Here *वने* is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्या सूर्यार्यानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-
ईर्ष्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *īrshya* to envy, *asūyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshya* jealousy; and *asūyā* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As *देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति-द्रुहयति-ईर्ष्यति* or *असूयति* he is angry upon, (*i.e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of *Devadatta*. Here *Devadatta* is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus *भार्यामीर्ष्यति* he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhāryā* is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उप-
सृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयो रूपसर्गसंबन्धयो यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma karaka* or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति अनिब्रुयति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति.

राधीद्वयोर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईद्वयोः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीक्षेचकारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādhi, to propitiate, and īksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राधति-ईक्षते गर्गः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नाति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रू and आश्रू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गां प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिगुणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-गुणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य कर्ता) ४

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गृणातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb *gri*, preceded by *anu* and *prati*, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called *Sampradāna*.

The phrase *pūrvasya kartā* of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे अनुगृणाति. They encourage the Hotri, *i.e.*, the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुगरः and प्रतिगरः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकृतमकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकृतमम्, करणम्
(कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृष्टोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकृतमं कारकं करणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or *karāṇa kāraka*.

As सन्नेष्टे लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना छिनत्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other *kārakās*, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कुपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, *i.e.* on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का० साधक
तमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकृतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् करणसंज्ञं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb *div* to play, is called *karma* object, as well as *karāṇa*, Instrument.

The present *sūtra* ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the *sūtra* is to indicate that *karāṇa* is also to be read into this. As भक्षान् शिष्यति or अक्षै शिष्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रियणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रियणे,
संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकृतम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रियणे साधकृतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikrî*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradâna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word *परिक्रयणे* means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As *शताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि* or *शतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुब्रूहि*.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधि-करणम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणो. क्रियाश्रयभूतयोर्धारणं क्रियां प्रति य आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरणं संतम्भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called *Adhikarana* or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called *âdhâra*. As *कटे आस्ते* he is seated on the mat. *कटे शेते* he is sleeping on the mat. *स्थाव्यां पचति* he cooks in the pot. The *Adhikarana* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्यासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-शीङ्-स्या-आसाम्, कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्या आस् इत्येतेषा माधारोयस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs *sî* to lie down, *stha* to stand, *âs* to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kâraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last *sûtra* there would have been the Locative case. As *ग्राममधिगते* अधितिष्ठति or *अध्यास्ते* he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhi-nivîs* to enter, is also called *karma-kâraka*.

As ग्राममभिनिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपान्वध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः,
(का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेराभारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वसतेरर्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and āñ, is called karma-kāraaka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or भावसति.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्,
कर्म, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदामुमिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेण् श्वं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take the

anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say औदनं पचति he cooks the food, सक्तुं पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karak, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च, अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रीप्सिततमं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण यदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similiarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चौरान् पश्यति He sees the thieves. ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूला न्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपाशन अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs ; as, धेनुं शोधि पयः he milks the cow (her milk) व्रजमवरुणद्धि गां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here धेनुं and व्रजं are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases ; as, धेन्याः (ablative) पयोशोधि, व्रजे (locative) अवरुणद्धि गां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kârikâ :—दुष्टान् पचं वण्डं रुधि मच्छि चि म्रु शासु जि मन्थं दुषाम् ॥ कर्मयुक् स्वाकथितं तथा स्यात्तु द्वि कृष् वशाम् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू to tell शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्प् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृप्, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां क्षीयि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां.

'He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly संडुजानीदन् पचति, गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, ब्रजमवरुणद्धि गां, माणवकं पंथानं पृच्छति, वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते-शास्ति वा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मय्नाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति; ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति-वहति-वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं भाषते वक्ति वा, बलिं-वसुधां भिक्षते, तां स्वां संवरणस्यार्थं वरयामि विभावसी are instances of this kind of object, because भाष् or वाच् and भिष् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू. and याच्, the roots given in the *kasikā*.

Obs.—The roots चि, मुष्, पच् मंथ्, रुध्, जि, कृप् हृ and ever वह् are of very rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to मुष्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, सुधां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and ग्रामं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्मकाणा मणिकर्ता स णी ॥ ५२ ॥
पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्द-कर्मा-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्ता, सः,
णी (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्धयर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा मकर्मकाणा
उच्च अण्यन्तानां यः कर्ता स एव्यन्तानां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी वह्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्त्र कर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदि खायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भक्षेर हिसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion', 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of

verbs that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs, that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-*ni* or non-causal state), is called the object (karma) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix *ni*).

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL.
शषवः स्वर्गमगच्छन्	शषन् स्वर्गमगमयत्
स्वे वेदार्थमविवृः	स्वान वेदार्थं मवेदयत्
देवा अमृतमाप्नुन्	देवान् मृतमाशयत्
विधिवेदमध्यैत	विधिं वेदमध्यापयत्
पृथ्वी सज्जिते आस्त	पृथ्वीं सज्जिते आसयत्

But in गमयति रामो गोविन्दं (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गमयति 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rāma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots हयति (हृ) कंसति (क्रं) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule; as, हयति देवदत्तः ह्राययति देवदत्तेन; कंसति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः; कंसयति-शब्दाययति-देवदत्तेन. And the roots श्रु, ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, शृणोति विज्ञानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प्, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, जल्पयति-विज्ञापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. भृत्यो भारं नयति वहति वा A servant carries a load. भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

*Vart:—*But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति . Horses draw the chariot. वहन्ति यवान् वलीवर्दाः .

Vart:—(b). The causals of the roots खाद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमन्ति खादति वा . The boy eats his food. वटुनान्नमादयति खादयति वा . (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart:—(c). भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिडीं देवश्चत्तः, भक्षयति पिडीं देवश्चत्तेन; but भक्षयति यवान् वलीवर्दाः, भक्षयति वली वर्दान् यवान् .

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किकरः पचरः पचति . Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किकरेण पाचयति and not किकरं; but मासमासयति देवश्चत्तः .

In forming the passive construction of casual verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति.	रामं ग्रामं गमयति.	रामो ग्रामं गम्यते.
Rama goes to a village.	(He) causes Rama to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति .	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति.	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते .
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते .	गोविंदं मासमासयति .	गोविंदो मासमास्यते .
Govind sits for one month.	(He makes Govind sit &c.	Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa : e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मं बोध्यते 'M. is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to M.'; बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food:' बटुमोदनं भोज्यते or बटुमोदनां भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधा-

वाचते: (ईश्वरो) वामनेन वज्रं वसुधां याचयति ' (God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपीजुजां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हरयति . ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

इ क्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्,
(का० अणि कर्ता स णी कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरते: करोतिआण्यन्तर्योः कर्ता स ण्यन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभिवादि वृक्षोरामनेपद् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-*ni* (primitive) form in the case of *hri* to lose and *kri* to make, is optionally called *karma* or object when these verbs take the affix.

nf (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

As हरति भारं माणवकः

The boy takes the load.

हारयति भारं माणवकं or माणवकेन .

He causes the servant to take the load.

हरीतिकटं देवदत्तः

Devadatta makes the mat.

कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन .

He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart:—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवर् and हृश्, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

अभिवदति गुरुं देवदत्तः

Devadatta bows down to the Guru.

अभिवादयते गुरुं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन .

He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

पश्यन्ति भूत्या राजानम् .

The servants see the king.

दर्शयते भूत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भूत्यै .

He makes the servants see the king.

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंज्ञं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called *kartā* or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks.
स्थाली पचति the pot cooks.

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,
(का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंज्ञं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हारयति he cause to be taken, When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent. *vis.*, Hetu and kartā: otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राग्भीश्वराकिपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, भीश्वरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निरीश्वर इति वदयति प्रागेतस्मादवधेयानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः निपातसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirīśvare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last ; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnīya take two names, i. e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter र in प्राग्भीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आद्यः असत्त्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्सत्त्वे वर्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च 'and' वा 'or' ह 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' 'exactly.' एवम् 'so, thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' शश्वत् 'continually,' शुभपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सुषुत् कृषुत् 'excellently,' कुषित् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' अथ 'if,' [the न् is indicative], क्व 'where,' तत्र 'there,' कश्चित् 'what if?', नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,'! नाकिम् [माकीम्] 'do not' आकीम् 'indeed!' नाह् 'do not,' नम् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' सै न्वै हे 'perhaps,' रे (disrespectful interjection) औषद् औष

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), तुम् 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किञ्च 'indeed,' अथ 'now' auspicious inceptive), सुष्ठु 'excellent,' स्म (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), भवह 'fie' अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उञ्, उक्कम्, वेलायाम्, मात्रायाम्, यथा. यत्, तत्, किम्, पुरा, वधा, (वधा), धिक्, हाहा, हेहे, (हहे), पाद्, प्याद्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, नो, (नो), अथो, मनु, मन्थे, मिथ्या, असि, ब्रूहि, त्, नु, इति, इव, वत्, वात्, चन, बत, [सम्, वशम्, शिकम्, दिकम्,] सनुकम्, छम्बद्, (छंबट्), शक्के, शुकम्, खम्, सनात्, सनुतद्, नहिकम्, सत्यम्, ऋतम्, अद्धा, इद्धा, नोचैत्, नचैत्, नहि, जातु, कथम्, कुतः, कुत्र, अव, अनु, हा, हे, (है), आहोस्मिन्, शम्, कम्, खम्, दिष्ट्या, पशु, वद्, सह, (अनुषक्), आनुषक्, अङ्ग, फद्, ताजक्, (भाजक्), अये, अरे, वाद्, (चाटु), कुम्, खुम्, घुम्, अम्, ईम्, सीम्, सिम्, सिः, वै.

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No. 59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avdattam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example, अस्तिक्षीरा asti-kshîrâ, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्त्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्त्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c., are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आह्, नि, अधि, अपि, अति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i. e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the chá &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipâtas. As परा जयति सेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipâta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे (प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्गं संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मरुच्छब्दस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरुच्छब्दस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति . Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणयकः, परिणयकः .

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगतौ नायकोऽस्माद् देशात् = प्रनायकोदेशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ण. Thus while प्रणयकः means 'a leader' the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Vart:—The word मरुत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As मरुर्निर्दिष्टः = मरुत्तः given by Marut. मरुत् + ण + क्त = मरुत् + त् + त (VII. 4. 47). Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the ण is replaced by त् by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त the substitute of ण which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as मरुत् does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मरुत् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle अत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus अत् + धा + ञ् = अज्जा (III. 3. 106). Here because अत् is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati. when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the त्वा is replaced by ल्यप् see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र + कृ + ल्यप् = प्रकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृतम्. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root of which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71.

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛtti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिषिक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and स into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart:—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and ल्यप् (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर् and चनस् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनर्ल्यप्स्युतवासो वेद्यम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes ल्यप् to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोहितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि च्वि-डाचः, च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शब्दाः च्व्यन्ता डाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū kṛi or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verbs in composition is either कृ, भू, or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch; shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words ऊरी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) ऊरीकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यदूरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words:—

पापी.	धूसी.	धंशकना.	फली.
सांजी.	शकला.	गुलुगुधा.	विह्वी.
आवाजी.	संशकला.	सजू.	आह्वी.
वेताली.	धंसकना.	फलू.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुह्वीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमिति परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खादकृत्य having made the sound khât. खादकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यत्खादकरोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडितिकृत्वा निरष्टीवत्.

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः,
सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरा नादरयो र्यथाक्रमं सदसच्छब्दौ गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49) यत् सत् करोति or यदसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe कृत्वा काण्डं गतः .

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे ; अलम् ,
क्रे० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे यो ऽलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) यदलंकरोति (VIII. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा व्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिमहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-ग्रहे ,
क्रे० गतिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिमहे ऽर्थे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या द्विविधि णत्वेऽपसर्गसंज्ञावक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहगतः went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्हृतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्तर्हन्ति .

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हृत्या पंकां श्येनो गतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart :—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of application of the following rules ; III. 3. 106 by which अह् is added ; rule I. 3. 92 by which कि is added ; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed to ण. As अन्तर्हृत् , अन्तर्हृत्विः and अन्तर्णयति .

कणेमनसी अद्वाप्रतीयाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी , अद्वा-
प्रतीयाते , (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनस्शब्दश्च अद्वा प्रतीयाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kape and manas. are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'

The word **अद्वा-मतीषात** means 'satisfaction of desire.' As **कणेहस्य पयः पिबति** he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also **मनोहस्य पयः पिबति**. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (**अद्वा**) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have **कणे** or **मनोहत्वागतः** he went away he satisfied.

पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः , अव्ययम् , (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word **purah** in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called **gati**.

The pronoun **पूर्व** 'front' with the affix **असि** forms **पुरस्**, and by S. I. 1. 38 it becomes an **Avyaya**. (See S. V. 3. 39 **pur** being substituted for **pūrva**). The object by making it **gati** is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the: **h** into **स्** by VIII. 3. 40. As **पुरस्कृत्य**, **पुरस्कृतम्** and **यत् पुरस्करोति**, when not an indeclinable we have **पूः**, **पुरो**, **पुरः** कृत्वा **काण्डगतः**.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम् , च , (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो मकारान्तोऽव्ययं मनुपलब्धौ वर्तते स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word **astam** 'at home,' is called **gati**, when in composition with a verb.

The word **अस्तम्** is an indeclinable as it ends in **म्** (I 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As **अस्तंगत् सविता पुनरुदेति** the sun having set, rises again **अस्तंगतानि धनानि** riches that have vanished. **यदस्तं गच्छति**, when not an indeclinable it is not **gati** as **अस्तं काण्डम्** the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थेऽप्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ , गति-अर्थ-वद्देशु , (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छाशब्दोऽव्ययमभिशाब्दस्वार्थे वर्तते , स गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदतो च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word **achchha**, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called **gati**, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word **अच्छ** is an indeclinable and has the force of the word **अभि**. As **अच्छगत्य**, **अच्छगतम्**, and **यदच्छगच्छति**. So also **अच्छेय अच्छोदितम्** and **यदच्छ वदति** when not an **Avyaya**, we have **उत्कमच्छं गच्छति**.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस् , अनुपदेशे , (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् and यदः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः

तिरोऽन्तरद्वौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तर्द्वौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्वौर्ध्वधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tīras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय, तिरोभूतम् and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थित. i. e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृञि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि, (गतिः अन्तर्द्वौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोतौ परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tīras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेः शब्दो विभक्तिः प्रतिक्रमको निपातो दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने वर्तते तौ कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु षष्ठ्यर्थं वचनम् ॥

74. The words *sāikshât*, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called *gati*, when used along with the verb *kri*.

Vart:—In the words *साक्षात्* &c. the force of the affix *च्च्* is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As *साक्षात् कृत्य* or *कृत्वा* *निध्याकृत्य* *निध्याकृत्वा* making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने , उरसिमनसी , (विभाषा कृजि गतिः) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ अनत्याधान मुपश्लेषणं तदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृजि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word *urasi*, 'in the breast,' and *manasi* 'in the mind' are optionally *gati* when the verb *kri* follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As *उरसिकृत्य* or *उरसिकृत्वा*; *मनसिकृत्य* or *मनसिकृत्वा*. When it has the sense of placing we have *उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते* he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, *मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति* he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे , निवचने , च , (विभाषा कृजि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा , अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृजि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words *madhye* 'in the middle,' *pade* 'in the foot' and *nivachane* 'speechless' are optionally *gati*, when *kri* follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As *मध्ये कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*. *पदे कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*; *निवचने कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have *हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते* he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाण्युपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम् , हस्ते-पाण्युपयमने (गतिः कृजि) ॥

वृत्ति: ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येतौ शब्दौ कृजि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word *haste* 'in the hand,' *panau* 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called *gati* when used with the verb *kri* in the sense of 'marriage.'

As *पाणौ कृत्य* or *हस्ते कृत्य* having married. But *हस्ते कृत्वा* *कार्षापणं गत* he went out having taken in his hand a *kârshâpana* (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः रुजि नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति मकारान्तमव्ययमानुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदनुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृत्रि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word *prādhvam* followed by the verb *kri*, is always called *gati* when used in the sense of binding.'

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *म्* and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्राध्वंकृत्य* having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः* having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः रुजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतौ शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृत्रि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

79. The words *Jīvikā* and *upaniṣad* followed by the verb *kri* are called *gati* when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* having made it as if it was a means of living; *उपनिषत्कृत्य*—having made it like an *upaniṣad*. But *जीविकां कृत्वा गतः* having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राधातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called *gati* and *upasarga* are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word *ते* has been employed to include the term *उपसर्ग* also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्गं प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञकाः परेऽपि पूर्वेषु प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the *chhandas* (veda) these *gati* and *upasarga* are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As:—*वायविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कृतम् ॥ मद्धिस्था धिया नरा* (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have **आयातमुप** instead of **उपायतम्** 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गर्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— **इन्द्र वायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ॥ इन्द्रो वा मुशन्तिहि** (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here **उप** is separated from the word **आगत** by the intervening word **प्रयोभिः**.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As **सुस्तुतं भवता** well praised by you. **सु** सिक्कं भवता you have sprinkled. Here **सु** is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so it, would have changed the **स** into **ष** (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, **टि**, **पि**, **पु** &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (**प्रोक्तवन्त**) an action (**कर्म**) is so called.

अनुलक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे शब्दे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word **anu** when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word **lakshana** means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of **अनु** in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As **अपवन् प्रावर्षत्** it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachaniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a *karmapravachaniya*, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an *upasarga* whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example *संहितां* is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition *अनु*, but really governed by the verb *अनुनिशम्य* understood.

So also अनङ्गु यज्ञमन्वसिचत्. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, अगस्त्यमन्वसिचन् प्रजाः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when *अनु* would have been called *karma parvachaniya* even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word *lakṣhaṇa* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachaniyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परस्व I. 4/2; and would have caused a *karma pravachaniya* to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of *hetu*.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दः तृतीयायै चोत्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachaniya* when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of *अनु* in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नदीमनु अवसिता सेना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने चोत्थेऽयमनुः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word *anu* is *karma pravachaniya* when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word *हीन* means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words *अनु* governs the person to whom others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकशायनवैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च श्रुत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word *upa* when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is *karma-pravachanīya*.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as *उप खारी द्रोणः* a Drona is above a *khāri*. *उप निष्के कार्षापणः* a *karshapaṇa* is more than a *Nishka*. In this sense *उप* governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also *उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः* 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.' In this sense *उप* governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दौ वर्जनेश्रुत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

88. The words *apa* and *pari* are *karma-pravachanīya* when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of *अप* and *परि* is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As *अप त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः* it rained outside of or with the exception of *Trigarta*. So also *परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः*. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not *karma-pravachanīya*. As *ओदनं परिषिञ्चति*. He waters the rice. Here it is an *upasarga*, and hence changes the *स* into *ष*.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येषशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word *ān* as far as, is *karma-pravachanīya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word *वचन* in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As *आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः* it rained as far as (but excluding) *Pātaliputra* *आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः* it rained as far as (including) *Pātaliputra* *आकुमारं यशः पाणिनिः* आसांकाश्यात्, *आ मधुरायाः* when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्यभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रति पर्यनवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-इत्यभूताख्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अनवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्यभूताख्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अनु इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्वैवक्षो मातरं प्रति—परि = अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदन्नमां प्रति स्थात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्थं-
भूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जभणादिवैव भागवर्जितेऽभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदन्नमभि स्थात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्थ is changed into य.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रुतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रुतिः, प्रुति-
निधि-प्रुतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्मै तिजेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Māshās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11).

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ,
(कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी शब्दौ अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनौ कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽयमगच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्या गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmappravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामर्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुसिक्तं किं तवाप्त has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणे च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे वकारात् पूजायामर्थे कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिसिक्तमेव भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति सिक्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनान्वयवसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्वयवसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थे संभावने ऽन्वयवसर्गे गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('something') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word **पदार्थ** means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As **सर्वेषोऽपि स्यात्** there may be perhaps a drop of ghee **मधुनोऽपि स्यात्**. Here some word like **vindu** 'a drop,' **stoka** 'a little' **mâtrâ** 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word **संभावन** means possibility, a supposition. As, **अपि सिंचेत् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन** possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; **अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं** he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. **अन्यसर्ग** means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As **अपि सिंच** you may sprinkle if you like. **अपि स्तुहि** you may praise if you like. The word **गर्हा** means censure, contempt or reproof. As **धिग्ज्ञानं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलाण्डुम्**. The word **समुच्चय** means cumulative. As **अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच** praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the **स** into **ष**.

अधिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी सच्च स्वमपेक्षत । तदयं स्वस्वामि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word **adhi** is **karmappravachaniya** when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word **ईश्वर** means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word **adhi** governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as **अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः** or **अधि पञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः**, **Brahmadatta** rules over **Panchâlas**.

विभाषा कृञि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि कर्मप्र० अधिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोतौ विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word **adhi** is optionally **karma prava-**
vachaniya when the verb **kri** follows.

As **यद्वयं मामधि करिष्यति**. Here the word **अधि** may be treated either as a **गति** or a **कर्मप्रवचनीय**. When it is a **गति** the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71 : otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः , परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल'. The word लादेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लट्, लिट् लुट् लृट्, लेट् लोट् लङ् लिङ् लुङ् लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following

PARASMAIPADA

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यस्	य
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	सि

And the affixes शट् and क्सु (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तङानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनी आत्मनेपदम् (लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु परस्मै पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तङानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tan and the two ending in âna (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st	इट्	वहि	महिङ्
2nd	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd	त	आताम्	स

And the affixes शानच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106).

**तिङ्श्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः ,
त्रीणि , त्रीणि , प्रथम , मध्यम , उत्तमाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपदं संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः तत्रपरस्मैपदेषु त्रयस्त्रिकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मने पदेष्वपि त्रयस्त्रिकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name *tiñ*, a *pratyâhâra* formed of the first and last of them, viz., *tip* and *mahiñ*) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar, the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipadi and 9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

**तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥
तानि , एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः , (त्रीणि २) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the name of Lowest &c., are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular), "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

**सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः , (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहु-
वचनानि एकशः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of *sup* (which is a *Pratyâhâra* formed of *su* the first of the case affixes and the final *p* of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः , च , (त्रीणि २ रूपः तिङ् ;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपस्तिङ्श्च ॥

104. The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि , उपपदे , समान-अधिकरणे , स्थानिनि , अपि , मध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्ययहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्य-कारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमाने ऽप्युपयुज्यमाने ऽपि मध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; युवां पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे , च , मन्य-उपपदे , मन्यतेः , उत्तमः , एकवच् , च , (मध्यमः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो मध्यमपुरुषो भवति , मन्यतेश्चोत्तमः स चैक वचनमिति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सौगतिथिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समा-
नाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युपपदे समानाभिधेये प्रयुज्यमाने व्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun asmad "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्र दुष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदे न स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः,
संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णानां मर्द्धमानाकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a mâtṛā or prosodial length between them, is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As इक्ष्वाक = इक्षि + आक.

विरामो अवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरतिर्विरामः । विरम्यते जनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.



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PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya-Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of this language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and aliveness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, viz., the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done

towards the logical development of the western intellect, the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied the book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight book of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well known commentary called the *Kāśikā*. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of *Kāśikā*, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the *Kāśikā* in the original.

The whole book will be completed in 32 parts and will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage, so that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White C. S., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing to 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for one or more copies.

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॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थः , पद-विधिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयम् , यः कश्चिदिह शास्त्रे पदविधिः श्रूयते स समर्थो वेदितव्यः ॥

1. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

1. This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि. The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाम् ; that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि. What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्मवद् भाव).

The word समर्थ means capable; that is to say, that which is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence on analysis, is called समर्थ; or the word समर्थ may mean that which depends upon words as connected in sense; that is to say, a rule relating to words whose senses are connected together.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words भित्त , क्षतीत &c. and forms tatpurusha compound;' as, कष्टं भित्तः = कष्टभित्तः 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense there can be no compounding; as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, भित्तो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and भित्तं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ.

Similarly, it will be taught in sūtra 30 'a word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes that the quality of which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the 3rd case-affix and with the word अर्थ 'wealth;' as, शंकुलया + खण्डः = शंकुलाखण्डः 'a piece cut by nippers.' Here also when the words are not connected in sense there is no composition; as, करिष्यसि शंकुलया, खण्डो देवदत्त उपलेन 'thou shalt do it with the nippers, Devadatta is cut by the stones.'

Similarly, sūtra 36 declares, 'a word ending with the 4th case-affix, is compounded optionally with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words अर्थ, वजि &c.'

Thus यूपाय + शरु = यूपशरु 'wood for a stake.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं यूपाय, शरु देवदत्तस्य गेहे 'go thou for the stake, the wood is in Devadatta's house.'

Similarly, sūtra 37 declares 'a word ending with the 5th case-affix may be compounded with the word भय; as, वृकोभ्यो + भयं = वृकभयं 'fear by reason of a wolf.' But when these words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, गच्छ त्वं मां वृकोभ्यो, भयं देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तात् 'come thou to me from the wolves, there is fear to Devadatta from Yajñadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra II. 2.8 declares 'a word ending with the 6th case-affix is optionally compounded with what ends with a case-affix;' as, राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.' But when the words are not समर्थ, there is no composition; as भाट्या राज्ञः पुरुषो देवदत्तस्य 'the wife of the king, the man of Devadatta.'

Similarly, sūtra 40 declares. 'A word ending with the 7th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word शौण्ड 'skilled;' as, अक्षेष् शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice.' But when the words are not connected in sense, there is no composition; as, शक्तस्त्रयक्षेष्, शौण्डः पिवति पानागारे 'thou art skilled in dice, the gambler drinks in the tavern.'

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि; and therefore the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply here. Two words however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra अण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अक् immediately follows;' as, इधि + अशान् = इधशान्. This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as

तिष्ठतु दध्यशानं त्वं याकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76).

सुबान्नित्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आनन्नित्रिते,

पर-अङ्गवत्, स्वरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तमामन्नित्रिते परतः परस्याङ्गवद् भवति, स्वरे, स्वरलक्षणं कर्तव्यं ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुबन्तस्य पराङ्गवद्भावे समानाधिकरणस्योपसंख्यानमनन्तरत्वात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

2. A word ending in sup or a case affix, when followed by a word in the vocative case, is regarded as if it was the aṅga or component part of such subsequent vocative word, when a rule relating to accent is to be applied.

In other words, the word ending in a case-affix enters, as if, into the body of the vocative (Āmantrita) word; as it will be taught in sūtra VI. 1. 198 which declares 'a word ending in a vocative case-affix, gets the udātta accent on the beginning i.e., first syllable.' Now, this rule will apply even when a word ending with a case-affix precedes such word in the vocative case. Thus the word एतौ 'O two lords' has udātta on the first syllable. Now, when this word is preceded by another inflected noun as शुभम् 'of prosperity,' the accent will fall on शु, the two words being considered as a single word; as:—अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो श्वत् पाणी शुभस्पती ॥ पुरुभुजा चनस्वतम् ॥ Rig. I. 3. 1. 'O Asvins, riding on quick horses, lords of prosperity, and bestowers of plenty of food, eat the sacrificial offerings to your satisfaction.' So also in the following:—कुण्डे नाटन् 'O thou wandering with a bowl. परशुना वृश्चन् 'O thou cutting with an axe.' मद्राणां राजन् 'O thou king of Madras.' कश्मीराणाम् राजन् 'O thou king of Kashmir.'

Why do we say 'a word ending with a case-affix?' If the preceding word ends with any other affix than a case-affix, this rule will not apply. As पीड्ये पीडयमान 'O thou who art pained, I am pained because of this thy pain.'

Here पीड्ये 'being a तिङन्त (a verb)' is not considered as an aṅga of the vocative word.

Why do we say 'when followed by a word in the vocative case?' This rule will not apply when the subsequent word is not a vocative. As गेहे गार्ग्ये: 'Gārga is at home.'

Why do we say 'of the subsequent?' It will not be a part of the vocative word which precedes. As *देवदत्त कुण्डे'नाटन्* 'O Devadatta wandering with a bowl.' Here *कुण्डेन* has not become part of Devadatta, but of the subsequent word *अटन्*.

Why do we say 'an aṅga or component part?' Both must be considered as one word for the application of the rule of accent, so that the first syllable of each word separately may not get the udātta.

Why do we say 'as if or वत्' It is not altogether the body of the subsequent word; rules depending upon its own separate independent existence also take effect.

Thus rule VIII. 1. 55 declares 'a word ending in the vocative case is not anudātta when it follows the word *आम्* there intervening a word between itself and *आम्*; as, *आम् कुण्डेनाटन्*! Here *kundena* is considered a separate word for the purposes of Rule VIII. 1. 55 and is said to intervene between *आम्* and the vocative word *अटन्*.

Why do we say 'for the purposes of the application of rule of accent?' For the purposes of the application of any other rule, it will not be the aṅga of the subsequent word; as, *कूपे सिंचन्* 'O thou sprinkling in the well.' *चर्म नमन्*. Here had *कूपे* and *चर्म* been the aṅgas of the subsequent words for all purposes, their *स* and *न* would have been changed into *ष* and *ण* respectively by Rules VII. 4. 2 &c.

Vart:—When a word ending in a case-affix becomes, as if, the component part of the subsequent word, it becomes so even when there are several words in apposition with it which intervene between it and the vocative word; because that, of itself, does not constitute want of immediateness. Thus *तीक्ष्ण्या सूच्या सीङ्गन्* 'O thou sewing with a sharp needle' *तीक्ष्णेन परशुना वृश्चन्*.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of indeclinable words. As *उच्चैरधीयान* 'O thou reading loudly.' *नीचैरधीयान*.

प्राक्कडारात्समासः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, कडारात्,
समासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारसंशब्दनात् प्राग् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम-स्ते समाससंज्ञा वेदितव्याः ॥

3. From this point up to the aphorism *kaḍa-rakarmadhāraye* (II. 2. 38), all the terms that we shall say describe will get the designation of *samāsa* or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word **यथा** when not meaning like unto.' Here the word **समास** must be read into the *sūtra* to complete the sense. In fact this chapter and the second chapter treat of compounds and therefore the word compound must be read in all those aphorisms.

The word *prāk* is employed for the same purpose as it was used in I. 4. 56 that is to give the designation of **समास** to various technical terms like **अन्यथीभाव** &c. which otherwise would not have got the name of **समास**.

सह सुपा ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह , सुपा (सुप् समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबिति सहेति सुपेति च अयमप्यधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् यदित ऊर्ध्वं मनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्रैव सुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

4. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word **सुप्** is understood from *sūtra* 2, so that it consists of three words *viz.*, **सुप्**, **सह**, **सुपा**. All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each *sūtra* may require. This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the *sūtras* that follow.

Why have we used the word **सह**? Well, without it the *sūtra* would have stood thus: **सुप् सुपा** 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word **सह** is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite *sūtra* into two separate and simple *sūtras*, namely:—

(1). **सह , सुप् , समस्यते समर्थेन** 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word **सह** with the help of the three words **सुप्** taken from *sūtra* 2, **समस्यते** from *sūtra* 3, and **समर्थेन** from *sūtra* 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like **अनुव्यञ्जनं अनुवाचयत**. The accent will depend upon these being considered as *samāsa*.

(2). **सुपा सह सुप् समस्यते** a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word. The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, **पुनरुक्त्युक्तं वाचो देवं पुनर्निष्ठतो ह्यः**. This also is for the sake of accents.

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानि त ऊर्द्धवर्धनमुक्तमित्यामो ऽव्ययीभावसंज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

5. From this forward whatever we shall describe will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last. As far as sūtra 21, the compounds treated of, will get the designation of Avyayībhāva. The word अव्ययीभाव like the word कर्मप्रवचनीय is a self-descriptive term, and not an arbitrary term like दि, प्रि &c. When that which was not an indeclinable becomes an indeclinable, it is called अव्ययीभाव or 'becoming an indeclinable.' In the Avyayībhāva compound the sense of the first of its elements is the main one or the independent one on which the other depends.

अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूढ्यर्थभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव
पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययोगपट्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्ययम्, विभक्ति-समीप-समृद्धि-व्यूढि-अर्थाभाव-अत्यय-असम्प्रति-शब्दप्रादुर्भाव-
पश्चाद्-यथा-आनुपूर्व-योगपट्य-सादृश्य-सम्प्रति-साकल्य-अन्त-वचनेषु, (सुप सुपा
अव्ययीभावः समासः) (समर्थः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभक्त्याविष्वयेषु यदव्ययं वर्तते तत् समर्थं सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते अव्ययीभाव
श्च समासो भवति ॥

6. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity, or adversity, or absence of the thing, or departure, or not now, or the production of some sound, or after, or according to, or order of arrangement, or simultaneousness, or likeness, or possession, or totality, or termination, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayībhāva.

The words सुप and सुपा are understood in this sūtra. The word वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases.

1. विभक्तिवचन;—As अधिस्त्रि कथा वर्तते 'a story relating to women.'
अधिकुमारी 'relating to a girl.'
2. समीपवचन;—As उपकुम्भम् 'near to the jar.' उपमणिकं 'near to the gem.'
3. समृद्धिवचन;—As सुमद्रं 'well or prosperous with the Madras';
सुमगधं 'well with the Magadh.'
4. व्युद्धिवचन;—As दुर्गवादिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्बन् 'ill with the Yavanas.'
5. अभाववचन;—As निर्मैत्तिकम् 'free from flies'; निर्मैशकं 'free from mosquitoes.'
6. अत्ययवचन;—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather';
निशीतं .
7. असम्प्रतिवचन;—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts.'
8. शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन;—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे
इति हरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').
9. पश्चाद्वचन;—As अनुरथं पादात् 'the infantry after the chariots.'
10. यथार्थवचन;—The meaning of the word यथा is four-fold, viz. corres-
pondence, severality or succession, the not passing beyond something, and
likeness; thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according
to each or several object or signification.' (3) यथाशक्ति 'according to one's
ability.'
11. आनुपूर्व्यवचन;—As आनुज्येष्ठं प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter
in the order of seniority.'
12. योगययवचन;—As सचक्रं धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel.'
13. सादृश्यवचन;—As ससखि 'like a friend.'
14. संपत्तिवचन;—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought.'
15. साकल्यवचन;—As सदणम् 'even to the grass' i.e. the whole,
not leaving even a scrap.
16. अन्तवचन;—As सान्नि as far as the chapter of fire (i.e. the whole
Veda).

यथा ऽसादृश्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा , असादृश्ये , (समर्थः सुप्
सुपा अव्य०भा०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अथेत्थेतदव्ययमसादृश्ये वर्तमानं सुपा सह समसयते, ऽव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति॥

7. The indeclinable word yathā when it does
not signify 'likeness' is invariably compounded with a

word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it and the compound is called an *Avyayibhâva Samâsa*.

Thus *यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* invite every old Brahmana. So also *यथाध्यापकम्*.

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As *यथादेवदत्तस्तथा यत्तदत्तः* As is Deva-datta so is Yajñadatta.

This samâsa could have been included in the last sūtra clause 10, but making a separate sūtra shows that the word *यथार्थवचन* there, must be limited by the present sūtra, to first three meanings of the word *यथा* given there and not to its fourth meaning. *viz.* there is no compounding when it means likeness.

यावदवधारणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावद्, अवधारणे, (संसुपा अटप०भा०समास) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावद्विद्येतद्व्ययमवधारणे वर्तमानं सुपा सह समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

8. The indeclinable word *yâvat* when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhâva*.

The word *अवधारण* means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, *यावद् मत्तं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्व* 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots': *i.e.*, if there are five pots then invite five Brâhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brâhmanas.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe *यावद्वत्तं तावद् भुक्तम्* 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' *i.e.* I donot know for certainty how much I have eaten.

सुप्प्रतिनामात्रार्थे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, प्रतिना, मात्रा-अर्थे, (अटप०भा०समा०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रार्थे वर्तमानेन प्रतिना सह सुबन्तं समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

9. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhâva*.

The word **मात्रा** means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit;' as, **शाकमति** 'a little of vegetable,' **सूपमति** 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe **वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते** **विद्युत्** 'it lightens in the direction of the tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Though the word **सुप** was, by *anuvritti* from *sûtra* 2, understood in this *sûtra*, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the *anuvritti* of the word **अव्यय** which began with *sûtra* 6 does not extend further into the subsequent *sûtras*.

The word **प्रतिना** being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an *upasarjana* (I. 2. 43) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30).

अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्ष-शलाका-संख्याः, परिणा , (अ०स०सह) ॥

अक्षशब्दः शलाकाशब्दः संख्याशब्दश्च परिणा सह समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

10. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *salâkâ* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *saṅkshyâ* 'numerals' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound formed is called *Avyayîbhâva*.

This *समास* is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *panchikâ* which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned down, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses. Thus **अक्षपरि** 'an unlucky throw of dice,' **शलाकापरि**, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also **एकपरि** 'an unlucky throw by one over' **द्विपरि**, **त्रिपरि** and lastly **चतुष्परि**. This is the maximum. But when five are of one form, then of course, he wins.

विभाषा ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्वि ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

11. The word *vibhâshâ* or option governs all succeeding *sûtras*.

This is an *adhikâra sûtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before. Compounds like **सुमद्रे**, **यथावृद्धं**, **अक्षपरि** &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (*निश्च समास*), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of

the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

अपरिवहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप-परि-वहिः.
अञ्चवः, पञ्चम्या (स०अ० सह० वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र परि वहिस् अञ्चु इत्येते सुबन्ताः पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

12. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añcha* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*.

As *अपरिगतं वृष्टे देवः* or *अपरिगतेभ्यो वृष्टे देवः* 'it rained away from Trigarta.' So also, *परिगितं* or *परिगितेभ्यः* 'round about Trigarta,' *वहिर्मासम्* or *वहिर्मासात्* 'outside the village' *प्राग् ग्रामम्* or *प्राग् ग्रामात्* 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *अञ्* 'to go,' are *उदञ्* 'north' *प्राञ्* 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpak*) that the word *वहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29).

आङ् सूर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, सूर्यादा-अभिविध्योः, (स०अ०वि०पञ्चम्या सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येतन्महर्ष्यादायामभिविधौ च वर्त्तमानं पञ्चम्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यन्ते, अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

13. The word *ān* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, *आपाटलिपुत्रं* or *आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टे देवः* 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra.' *भाकुनारं* or *आकुनारेभ्यो यज्ञ पाणिने* 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys.'

लक्षणनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेन, अभि-
प्रती, आभिमुख्ये, (स०अ०वि०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणं चिह्नं तद्वचिना सुबन्तेन सहाभिप्रतीशब्दावाभिमुख्ये वर्त्तमानौ विभाषा समस्यन्ते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

14. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the

goal which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

The word *lakṣhaṇa* means a sign goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 for a further explanation of this word. As अग्निं or अग्निमग्निं शलभाः पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also प्रत्यग्निं or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aims (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it.

Why do we say 'when meaning *lakṣhaṇa*'? Observe लुप्यं प्रति गतः 'he turned back and went towards *Srughna* i.e., having turned back he went only towards the direction of *Srughna* but not to that place itself.

Why do we say the words *abhi* and *prati*? Observe येनाग्निस्तेन गतः 'he went in the direction of the fire.'

Why do we say 'when meaning direction towards'? Observe अयङ्गा गावः or प्रत्यङ्गागावः 'the recently marked cows.'

अनुर्यत्समया ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः, यत्-समया, (स०वि०अ०-स० लक्षणने) ३

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्य समीपवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा सप्तत्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

15. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayībhāva*.

As, अनुवनमग्निर्गतः 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Why do we say अनु? Observe वनं समया 'near the forest.'

Why do we say 'when compounded with the word, nearness to which is indicated'? Observe वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens towards the tree.'

Though this compounding was valid even by *sūtra* 6, because nearness is mentioned there also; it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayībhāva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

यस्य चायामः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, च, आयामः, (स०-अ०वि०स० लक्षणने अनुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुर्यस्यायामवाची तेन लक्षणभूतेन सह विभाषा सप्तत्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

16. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayîbhâva*.

As, *अनुगंगं वाराणसी* 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' *अनुयमनं मथुरा* 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

Why do we say 'length'? Observe *वृक्षमनु विद्योतते विद्युत्*.

तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि ; च (अव्ययीभावसं०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठद्गुवाक्यः समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि अव्ययीभावसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

17. And the words *tishṭhādgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayîbhâva* compounds.

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayîbhâva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of *च* in the *sūtra* is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayîbhâva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow :—

तिष्ठद्गु, बहद्गु, आयतीगवम्, खलेयवम्, खलेबुसम्, लूनयवम्, लूयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पुयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संहृत्यमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संहृत्यमाणबुसम्, समभूम, समरदाति, सुषगम्, विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आयतीसमम्, प्राह्णम्, प्ररथम्, प्रथगम्, प्रदक्षिणम्, अपरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच्छ कर्मव्यतिहारे V. 4. 127. c. g. कचाकचि ॥

पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारे, मध्ये, षष्ठ्या, वा (सं०अ०वि०सं०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह विभाषा समस्यते अव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

18. The words *pâra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pâre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayîbhâva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed *Possessive Tatpurusha* compounds. The present *sūtra* ordains *Avyayîbhâva* instead. The force of

वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारंगंगम् or गंगापारम् 'across the Ganges.' मध्येगंगम् or गंगमध्यम् 'middle of the Ganges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. 11., this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase; as पारं गंगायाः or मध्यं गंगायाः .

संख्या वंशयेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वंशयेन, (स०वि०अ०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंशो भवः वंश्यः, तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह संख्या समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word वंश means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source whether through birth or knowledge. A succession of teachers and pupils, of ancestors and descendants &c., would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As, द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal exponents viz., Pāṇini and Patanjali. So, त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz. Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sakatāyana or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् .

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् Twenty-one Bhāradvājas. These a subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

नदीभिश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ नदीभिः, च, (स०अ०वि०संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीवचनैः शब्दैः सह संख्या समस्यते, भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

20. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार) ; as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुनं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās, पञ्चनदं 'where the five rivers meet,' सप्तगोदावरम् 'where seven Godavaris' meet. See II. 4. 1, 17.

अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यपदार्थे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (स०अ०वि०नदीभिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदीभिः सह सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्तमानं संज्ञायां विषये समस्यते भव्ययीभावश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an *Avyayībhāva*.

The *anuvṛtti* of the word *saṅkhyā* does not extend to this *sūtra*. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a *Nitya-samāsa* rule: for no Name (*संज्ञा*) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, *उन्नत्तगङ्गा* 'the country called Unmatta Ganges.' So also *लोहितगङ्गम्*, *कृष्णगङ्गम्*; *शून्यगङ्गम्* II. 4. 18.

Why do we say 'when it denotes a thing other than that expressed by the component parts of the compound'? Observe *कृष्णवेणु* the 'river *Krishnaveṇu*.'

Why do we say 'when it expresses an Appellative'? Observe *शीघ्रगंगी* *देशः* 'the country where the Ganges moves rapidly.'

तत्पुरुषः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुष इति संज्ञाधिक्रियते प्राग्बहुव्रीहे, यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमेण्यामस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

22. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, the word *Tat-purusha* is the governing word, and is understood in all the following *sūtras*.

From this *sūtra* as far as the *sūtra* II. 2. 23 relating to *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, the word *Tat-purusha* should be read into each *sūtra*. This big term is of older coinage than that of *Pāṇini*, being, in fact, made by older grammarians. In the *Tat-purusha* compound, the sense of the last of its elements is the main one, and governs the preceding one. The *Karmadhāraya* (Appositional Determinative Compound) and *Dwigu* (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds. The rest of this chapter and 22 *sūtras* of the second, deal with this.

द्विगुश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः, च, (तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुश्च समासस्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञो भवति ॥

23. And the kind of compound called *Dwigu* (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called *Tat-purusha*.

The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्न affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-160 should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra; as sūtra 52 of this chapter already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराज V. 4. 91 fem. पञ्चराजो (IV. I. 15, 21), 'an aggregate of 5 princes' द्वयहः 'V. 4. 89, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of 5 cows.' दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows.' V. 4. 92.

द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतत्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्वितीया श्रित-अतीत-पतित-गत-अत्यस्त-प्राप्त-आपन्नैः, (सुखयाऽसखिऽसह-
तत्पुरुष) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं सुब्रन्तं श्रितादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रितादिषुगमिगम्यादीनां सुसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atita 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कष्ट + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः, 'who has had recourse to trouble.' नरकश्रितः, So also:—कान्तारातीतः, 'who has passed over the dreary forest.' नरकपतितः, 'fallen into hell.' ग्रामगतः, 'gone to village.' तरंगारयस्तः, 'passed the waves.' सुखमारः, 'who has reached pleasure.' सुखान्नः, 'who has obtained happiness.'

Part:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी; श्रोत्रं बुभुक्षुः.

स्वयं क्तेन ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वयम्, क्तेन, (सखिऽतऽसुखऽ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वयमित्येतत्सुब्रन्तं क्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. The indeclinable word swayam 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया from the last aphorism into this, cannot take place; though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra. The word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं धीतौ पद्मे 'feet washed by himself' स्वयं विलीनमाडयम्.

In this compounding, the two words do not appear to have undergone any change after their composition. They are the same as they were before the composition. But by calling their juxtaposition, 'a compound,'

two indirect advantages are gained. Namely these two words are regarded as one word, and their accent is also similarly regulated. See Rule VI. I. 223.

The words ending in *kta* which is a *Nishṭhā* affix, are past participles.

**खट्वा क्षेपे ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खट्वा, क्षेपे, (संवि०त०क्तेनस०)
(द्वितीयया) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ खट्वाशब्दो द्वितीयान्तः क्तान्तेन सह क्षेपे गम्यमाने समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

26. The word *khatwā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *क्षेप* means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a *Nitya Compound*, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to *Optional Compounds*:—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

As *खट्वाकृतः* or *खट्वाहुतः* (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

There is no compounding when 'censure is not meant. As *खट्वामाकृतः* 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts:—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his *Brahmachārya* i.e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All *Brahmachāris* were bound to sleep on a couch and not on *खट्वा* or cots, so long as they were *Brahmachāris*. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, *खट्वाकृतः* 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

**सामि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामि, (संवि०त०सह क्तेन)
(द्वितीयया) ॥**

वृत्तिः । सामीत्येतद्द्वयमर्द्धशब्दपर्यायस्तरुष्य सन्धवाचिस्वाद् द्वितीयया नास्ति संबन्धः तत् सुबन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. The indeclinable word *sâmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *ktâ*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

The word *सामि* being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore the *anuvṛtti* of the word *द्वितीया* would be inapposite in this aphorism.

As *सामिकृतम्* 'half-done,' *सामिरीतम्* 'half-drunk' *सामिभुक्तम्* 'half-eaten.'

The object attained by this *saṁāsa* is the same as in II. 1. 25, namely making them one word and taking one accent.

कालाः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, (संवि०त०स०द्वितीययाक्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *ktâ*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word *कालाः* does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by *Sûtra* I. 1. 68, the word-form *काल* but special words denoting *काल*.

As *मासप्रवितञ्जन्मः* 'the new moon,' (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month). Similarly *अहस्संक्रान्ताः*, *रात्रिस्संक्रान्ताः* applied to six *Muhurtas* (of 48 minutes each) which are called *चर* and *अचर* which sometimes occur in day time (in the summer month) and sometimes in the night (in the winter).

अत्यन्तसंयोगे च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्यन्त-संयोगे, च, (संवि० त०स०कालाः सुपा द्वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः शब्दा द्वितीयान्ता अत्यन्तसंयोगे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यन्ते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. Words denoting time being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of complete connection throughout with the time (i.e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha,

The word काल is understood in this aphorism; but not so the phra 'ending with the affix क्त.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.' सर्वरानकल्याणी, सर्वरानशोभना.

तृतीया तद्वृत्तार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, ता कृत-अर्थेन, गुण-वचनेन, (संवि०त०सु०सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयास्तं सुबन्तं गुणवचनेन अर्थवचनेन च सह समस्यन्ते तत्पुरु समासो भवति ॥

30. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुग are understood here: and the whole of this sū is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थः provided that the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case. As शंकुनाखण्डः शंकुनाखण्डः 'cut by nipper' किरिकाणः 'made blind of one eye by a hog' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' For accent of these words see VI. 2. 2.

Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case' Observe अङ्गा क्राणः 'blind of one eye.' Here अङ्गा in the 3rd case is not the instrumental cause that produced blindness and hence no compounding.

Why do we say 'a word expressing quality?' Observe :—गोभिर्वपाव 'sowing with the cows.' Here though 'sowing' is instrumentally caused by the cows, yet it does not qualify cows but the sower, and hence no compounding.

Gūṇa-vachanas are those words which, not being words formed by primary or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of saṅkhyā or sarvanāma, or jāti, or compound words, are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives.

पूर्वसदृशसमोक्तार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-सदृश-सम-उक्तार्थ-कलह-निपुण-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्णैः, (संवि०त०तृतीयास०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व सदृश सम उक्तार्थ कलह निपुण मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण एतैः सह तृतीयास्तं समसं तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वोक्तिवद्वरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

31. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pûrva* 'prior,' *sadriśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *ânârtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipûna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *slakṣṇa* 'polished sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this *sûtra*, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' संवत्सरपूर्वः 'prior by a year,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसदृशः 'like the father,' मातृसमः 'similar to the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोन्म, माषविकलं 'less by a māśā,' भस्मिकलहः 'a fight with the swords,' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words,' वाङ्निपुणः 'proficient in speech,' अचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' तिज्जमिश्रः—गुडमिश्र 'mixed with sesamum or juggery' अचारस्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart :—The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणे ; कृता बहुलम् , (संवि०त०तृती०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च या तृतीया तदन्तं कृदन्तेन सह समस्यते बहुलं , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

32. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit* affix; and the compound so formed is called *Tat-purusha*.

The word बहुलं shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions. As अहिनाहतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखनिर्भिजः 'divided by the nails,' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe.'

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent or the instrument'? Observe भिक्षाभिहृतः 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that mentioned in *sûtra* II. 3. 21 and not that of II. 3. 18.

Why do we say 'diversely'? Observe शिमेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle.' परशुनाच्छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुलः—as पादहारकः and गन्ने चोपकः .

कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, अधिकः-अर्थ-वचने,
(संवि०त०कर्तृकरणे०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकरणयोर्या तृतीया तदन्तं सुबन्तं कृत्यैः सह समस्यते अधिकार्थवचने
गम्यमाने विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्यग्रहणे यत्प्यतोर्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

33. A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally with a word ending in a kṛitya affix, when an exaggerated statement (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As काकपेयानदी 'a shallow river' (so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink). श्वजेष्टः कुतः 'a shallow well' (so that a dog can lick water from the brink of it). वाष्पच्छेद्यानि दृणानि 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by vapour) कण्टकसंचेय ओदनः.

This sūtra is in a way a prolongation of the last.

Vart:—The phrase 'words ending in a kṛitya affix' must not be taken universally, only the kṛitya affixes यत् and एषत् are meant in the above sūtras. The following are the kṛitya affixes:—तस्य, अनीय, यत्, क्यप्, एषत्, (see sūtra III. I. 95, 133). Therefore there is no compounding when the word ends in तस्य as in काकैः पातक्या.

अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नेन, व्यञ्जनम्, (संवि०त०-
द०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्जनवाचि तृतीयान्तमध्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा, तत्पुरुषश्च
समासो भवति ॥

34. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a condiment, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying food, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as दध्मोदनः = दध्मा उपसिक्त ओदनः 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' So also क्षीरोदनः. The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ष्येण, मिश्री-करणम्
(स०वि०त०तृ०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिश्रीकरणवाचि तृतीयान्तं भक्ष्यवाचिना सुवन्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

35. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a relish giving or refining ingredient, is compounded with a word meaning, victuals, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called, भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिश्रीकरणं. As गुडधाना: 'barley prepared with juggery,' गुडपुष्पाः 'flattened parched rice prepared with juggery.'

The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी,
तदर्थ-अर्थ-बलि-हित-सुख-रक्षितैः (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदर्थं अर्थं बलि हित सुख रक्षित इत्येतैः सह चतुर्थ्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थेन निरयसमासवचनं सर्वलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

36. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix and so too with the words artha 'on account of,' bali 'a-sacrifice,' hita 'salutary,' sukha 'pleasure' and rakshita 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुपा are understood in this sūtra: and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression तदर्थ 'for the purpose thereof,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is by Patanjali here held to be intended. As यूपाय दारुः = यूपदारुः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). कुण्डलहिरण्यं 'gold for ear-ring.' But not so here. रन्ध्रनाथं स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' अवहननाथोन्मूलनम् 'the wood mortar for threshing. From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose thereof.' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable thereto.' See VI. 2. 44. For accent see VI. 2. 45.

Vart :—With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans ;' and ब्राह्मणार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the Brahmanas.' So also कुबेरबलिः 'a sacrifice for Kuvera' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोरहितं 'what is good for cows.' अश्वहितं 'what is good for horses' गोरुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , भयेन , (संततविशुद्धा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्तं सुबन्तं भयशब्देन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते विभाषा तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भय भीत भीति भीमि रिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

37. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word bhaya 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As वृकोभ्योभयं = वृकभयं 'fear from wolves' चौरभयं 'fear from thieves' दस्युभयं 'fear from robbers.'

Vart :—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः , वृकभीतिः , वृकभीः .

This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra 32 and an exposition of the word बहुल there. So that we may have the following compounds also: ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village.' अभ्रमं जगुःसुः .

अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापन्नस्तैरल्पशः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपेत-
अपोढ-मुक्त-पतित-अपन्नस्तैः , अल्पशः , (संततविशुद्धा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रैत अपोढ मुक्त पतित अपन्नस्त इत्येतेः सह पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥ अल्पश इति समासस्याल्पविषयतामाचष्टे ॥

38. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words apeta 'gone away,' apodha 'carried away,' mukta 'freed,' patita 'fallen,' apatrasta, 'afraid of,' when the event takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tatpurusha.

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः 'freed from the wheel.' स्वर्गपतितः 'fallen from heaven.' तरङ्गापन्नस्तः 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32.

By using the word अल्पशः 'in a gradual degree,' is shown the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following cases:—
 प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion. भोजनादपन्नतः 'afraid of eating.' For here the fall &c. is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

स्तोकात्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन, ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तोका-
 अन्तिक-दूर-अर्थ-कृच्छ्राणि, क्तेन, (सप्तविंशत्युपसर्जनसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकात् अन्तिक दूर इत्येवमर्थाः शब्दाः कृच्छ्र शब्दश्च पञ्चम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह सम्बन्धन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतसहस्रौ परेणेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. Words with the sense of stoka 'a little,' antika 'near,' dūra 'far,' and also the word kriehchhra 'penance,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in kta, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As स्तोकात् मुक्त. 'loosed from a little distance.'

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अन्त्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रदूरादागतः 'come from a distance.' कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः saved with difficulty.' कृच्छ्रान् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

Vart:—The words शत 'a hundred' and सहस्र 'a thousand' are similarly compounded with the word पर. As, शतात्परं = पराशतः 'beyond a hundred.' So also परसहस्रम्, 'beyond a thousand.' In these examples the word शत and सहस्र being exhibited in the 1st case and thus being upasarjana ought to have stood as the first member of the compound (II. 2. 30); But these compounds are supposed to fall under the class of राजदन्त &c., (II. 2. 31) and hence the upasarjana stands as the second member of the compound. Irregularly is also the augment स (सु) interposed between these two words.

सप्तमी शीषडैः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, शीषडैः (सप्त-
 विंशत्युपसर्जनसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं शीषडादिभिः सह सम्बन्धन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

40. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaundā 'skilled' &c. and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word शौण्डैः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with saup̄ḍa.

As, अभेषु शौण्डः = अभशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' अक्षधूर्तः 'cunning in dice' अक्षकितवः 'a gamester in dice.'

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 कितव, 4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु), 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संव्याड, 15 मन्थ, and 16 समीर.

सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व-बन्धैः,
च, (स०त०वि०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिद्ध-शुष्क-पक्व बन्धे इत्येतैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

41. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śuṣka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkâśya.' काम्पिन्यसिद्धः 'perfect in Kâmpī-lya.' आतपशुष्कः 'dried in the sun.' छायाशुष्कः 'dried in the shade.' स्थालीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' कुम्भी पक्वः 'cooked in an earthen jar.' चक्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel. For their accent see VI. 2. 32.

These are also further illustrations of the word बहुल in sūtra 32.

ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे, (स०त०वि०-
सु०स०सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

42. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the word dhvâṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थधांक्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i.e., a very greedy person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long, any where, so a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाक्षः or a तीर्थवायसः.

When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as, तीर्थधांक्षः स्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

कृत्यैर्ऋणे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यैः, ऋणे, (स०त०-
सु०स०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य प्रत्ययान्तैः सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

43. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛitya-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied.

This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛitya affix यत् and not to every kṛitya-formed word.

As, मासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' So संबत्सरदेयं 'payable within a year.' त्र्यहर्देयम् 'repayable within three days.'

By using the word कृत् we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following cases also:—पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sāma that should be sung in the morning.' प्रातरभ्ययोऽनुवाकः 'the chapter that should be studied in the morning.'

Why do we say 'debt'? Observe मासे देया भिक्षा 'the alms that should be given each month.'

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (स०त०वि०म०स०नी सुपा सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये सप्रत्यन्तं सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

44. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and is called Tat-purusha samāsa.

A sanjñā is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; anything which does not answer to one's expectation. So also अरण्येभाषाः, वने किंशुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly.' So also वनेबिल्वकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः.

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance to sūtra VI. 3-9. (The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.)

क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, अहः-रात्र-अवयवाः, (स०वि०त०स०स०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहरवयवा रात्रवयवाश्च सप्रत्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

45. The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta; and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning,' अपराह्नकृतम् 'done in the afternoon,' पूर्वरात्रकृतम् 'done in the first part of the night,' अपररात्रकृतम् 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि भुक्तम् 'eaten in the day' रात्रौ वृत्तम् 'occurring in the night.'

This being a continuation of sūtra II. 1. 32, we have diversely रात्रिवृत्तं and संश्यागर्जितं .

तत्र ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येतत् सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

46. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there,' तत्रकृतम् 'done there,' तत्रपीतम् 'drunk there.' By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II. 1. 25 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

क्षेपे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे , (स०वि०त०सप्त०सह क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

47. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अश्वतरेनकुञ्जस्थितं त एतत् 'they are as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) आपन्नम् ॥

So also उदके विशीर्णम् 'dried in water,' (figuratively used for any thing unheard of or impossible.)

So also प्रवाहे मूत्रितम् (lit.) 'making water in a stream,' (fig.) 'doing a useless action.' भस्मनि हुतम् 'offered oblation in ashes,' (fig.) 'a fruitless action.'

The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

पात्रेसमितादयश्च ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पात्रे, संमित-आदयः, च,
(स०त०क्षेपे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते, पात्रेसं मित्तादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुष संज्ञा भवन्ति क्षेपे गम्यमाने ॥

48. The words like pâtre-sammita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त); they could have been formed by previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोह्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

The following is the list of the words:—1 पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेबहुलाः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner time). 3 उदुम्बरमशकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कूपकच्छपः, 7 अवटकच्छपः, 8 कूपमण्डूकः, 9 कुम्भमण्डूकः, 10 उदपानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरवायस, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीगूरः, 15 पितरिशूरः, 16 गोहेशूरः, 17 गोहेनर्षीः, 18 गोहेद्वेडी, 19 गोहेविजिती, 20 गोहेव्याडः, 21 गोहेमेही, 22 गोहेवाही, 23 गोहेदृष्टः, 24 गोहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेदृष्टः, 26 आखनिकृचकः, 27 गोष्ठेगूरः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेद्वेडी, 30 गोष्ठेपटुः, 31 गोष्ठेपण्डितः, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भः, 33 कर्णेतिरिद्रिद्रा, 34 कर्णेचुरुचुरा ॥

पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलः समानाधिकरणेन ॥ ४९ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्वकाल-एक-सर्व-जरत्-पुराण-नव-केवलः समानाधिकरणेन,
(स०वि०त०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वकाल एक सर्व जरत् पुराण नव केष्वन इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह सप्तत्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

49. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their 30-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरणं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pûrva-kâla is not to be taken

(I. 1. 68) but its significates ; while of the rest एक &c., the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it. As, स्नातागुलितः 'bathed and perfumed.' कुट्सनीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' हृष्यमरुटम् 'burnt and healed.' एकशायी 'having one petticoat.' एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वदेवाः 'All gods.' सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरद्वृष्टिः 'an old cow.' जरद्वृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणान्नम् 'old rice.' पुराणान्नसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवान्नम् ; नवान्नसथम् ; केवलान्नम् 'only rice.'

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शायी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42).

द्विकसंख्ये संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विक्-संख्ये , संज्ञायाम् ,
(स०त०वि०सुपा०समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवाचिनः शब्दाः संख्या च समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

50. The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the word correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter.

As पूर्वेषुकामग्रामी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-east.' अपरेषुकामग्रामी 'the town of Ishukāmaśamī-in-the-west.' पञ्चाम्रा 'the five mangoes' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear).

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of an appellative?' Observe उत्तरा वृक्षाः 'northern trees.' पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas.' See IV. 2. 107.

तद्धितार्थोत्तरपद समाहारे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धित-अर्थ-उत्तरपद
समाहारे , च (स०त०वि०द्विकसंख्येस०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे चाभिधेये द्विक्-संख्ये समानार्थ-करणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

51. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be ex-

pressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107) serves to represent the force of a Taddhita-affix) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patañjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have:—पूर्व + शाला + भ (IV. 2. 107) = पूर्वशाल. (VII. 2. 117 and VI. 4. 148) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttar-pade). As, पूर्व शालामियः or अपरशालामियः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarpada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is of course impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words). The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as, पाँचनाविति 'relating to five barbers,' पाँचकपालः 'relating to an oblation offered in five cups' (कपाल) (IV. 1. 88). So also पंचगवधन (V. 4. 92) 'whose wealth consists of five cows,' दशगवधनः

The following are examples of aggregates:—पंचफली 'the collection of five fruits' (IV. 1. 21) दशपूली 'an aggregate of ten bundles,' त्रिलोकी 'the aggregate of the three worlds,' पंचकुमारि 'an aggregate of five virgins,' this word is neuter by II. 4 17. and the long ई is shortened by I. 2. 47.

संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-पूर्वः, द्विगुः, (स० वि०-तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे चेत्यत्र यः संख्यापूर्वः समासः स द्विगुस्तो भवति ॥

52. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound or when an aggregate is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or Numeral Determinative compound.

First to take an example of Taddhitārtha:—as, पंचेषु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पंचकपालः 'an offering prepared or offered in five cups.' So also दशकपालः 'prepared in ten cups.' These are names of Purodāsa offerings; and are formed by adding the affix झन् in the sense of 'refining an object of food' by sūtra IV. 2. 16; then this affix is elided (लुक्) by IV. 1, 88.

To take an example when an additional member comes after the compound. As पंचनावप्रियः 'loving five ships.' द्विनावरुप्यम् 'money which has come by two ships' (द्वि + नौ + टच् V. 4. 99 = द्विनाव)

Of an aggregate we have पंचवृत्ती. The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः ,
(स०वि०त०सु०सह०स०) ॥

वृत्ति. ॥ कुत्सितवाचीनि सुवन्नानि कुत्सनवचनैः सुवन्नैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्सुपथ समासो भवति ॥

53. Case-inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words, expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As वैयाकरणखसूचि; 'a bad or dull grammarian.' Here it might be asked is the word व्याकरणं 'grammar' a word of contempt, or the word वैयाकरण 'grammarian'? Neither 'Grammar' (it being a part of Vedāṅga,) nor the person who studies it i. e., the grammarian, can be an object of contempt ordinarily.

The word 'grammarian' is, however, the expression of contempt in an indirect way, thus :—The person studying grammar but not studying it well, becomes an object of contempt and such a despicable person becomes also contaminated. The word खसूचि is a term of contempt *per se*. It literally means, a person who on being asked a question, and not possessing ready wit and intelligence to answer it, scratches his head and contemplates vacancy (खसूचयति) and tries to divert the questioner's attention by exclaiming 'how beautifully clear is the sky,' such a person is called खसूचि .

Such compounds are confined to cases where the reason for the use of any particular term is to express contempt with regard to the signification of that term. So we can not form a compound of the sentence वैयाकरणधोः 'the thief grammarian;' for, contempt is not expressed with regard to the signification of the word 'grammarian.' But when the term 'grammarian' itself is used in a contemptuous signification, then a compound will be formed.

This aphorism is commended in order to introduce an exception to sūtra 57, by which an adjective stands as the first member in a compound. By the present sūtra, however, the attributive word will stand as the second member.

Other examples of such compounds are: **याशिककिलबः** 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices' **बीमांसक-दुर्बुरुहः** 'an unbelieving logician,' 'an athiest.' •

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such. Therefore it is not in the following case. **कुत्सितोत्राग्रणः** 'the bad Brâhmaṇa' &c.

पापाणके कुत्सितैः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाप-अणके , कुत्सितैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाप अणक एते सुबन्तैः कुत्सितवचनैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

54. The case inflected words *pâpa* 'sin,' and *anaka* 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words **पाप** and **अनक** are words of contempt (**कुत्सन**) ; by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtras I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30, that they will stand as first. As **पापनापितः** or **अणकनापितः** 'a contemptible barber' **पाप** or **अणक-कुत्सालः** 'a contemptible potter.'

उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानानि , सामान्य-वचनैः , (स०त०वि०सु०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचीनि सुबन्तानि सामान्यवचनैः सुबन्तैः सह समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

55. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is '*upamāna*' and the '*upameya*' (the thing compared) is called **सामान्य** or 'common.' Thus **घनश्याम कृष्णः** 'cloud-black Krishna' (Krishna black as a cloud). Here **श्याम** is a quality common to Krishna and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the **उपमान** is compounded with it. So also **कुमुदश्वेनी** 'lily-white.' **हंसगद्गदा** 'Swan-sounding' **पद्मोष्ठ-पारिमंडला** 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2. 2.

But not so in **देवदत्ता श्यामा** 'black Devadatta' or **फला इव तन्तुजाः** 'the rice are like fruits' **पर्वता इव बलाहकाः** 'clouds like mountains.'

उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमितम्,
व्याघ्र-आदिभिः, सामान्य-अप्रयोगे, (स०त०त्रि०सु०स०उपमानानिस०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमेयमुपमितं तद्वान्नि सुबन्तं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामर्थ्यात् उपमानवचनैः सह समस्यते,
तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति, न चेत्सामान्यवचनि शब्दः प्रयुज्यते ॥

56. A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger;' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of sūtra 57, by which the objective would have stood first; by the present, the attribute stands second. As पुरुषोऽयं व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्रः 'a person-tiger' (in strength) पुरुषसिंहः

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान but never with सामान्य वचन. Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:— पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव बलः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखरम्, मुखकमलं, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आकृतिगणः *i. e.*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts a priori.

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. वृक्ष = A bear. 4. वृष = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull.
8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. वरु = A tree.
11. कुञ्जर = An elephant. 12. रुद्र = A kind of deer. 13. पृषत = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree Butea Frondosa. 16. कितव = A rogue, cheat.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. मुखपद्मम् | } | A lotus-like face. |
| 2. मुखकमलम् | | |
| 3. करकिसलयम् | | = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. |
| 4. पार्थिवचन्द्रः | | |

विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणम्, विशेष्येण, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशेषणवाचि सुबन्तं विशेष्यवाचिना समानाधिकरणेन सुबन्तेन सह बहुलं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

57. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing thereby qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'Diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (निरयसमास) as कृष्णसर्पः 'a black snake.' लोहितशालिः 'red rice':—and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' (as being the son of Jamadagni): अर्जुनः कार्त्तवीर्यः—and in some cases it is optional, नीलमृदालं or नीलोज्ज्वलं.

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.'

Why do we say 'qualified?' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka.'

पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-प्रथम-चरम-जघन्य-समान-मध्य-मध्यम-वीराः, च (स०त०वि०सु०स० समानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वं अपरं प्रथमं चरमं जघन्यं समानं मध्यं मध्यमं वीर इत्येते सुबन्ताः समानाधिकरणेन सुपा सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

58. The case-inflected words pūrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost,' samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vīra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As पूर्वपुरुषः 'ancestor,' (any one of the three, father, grandfather and great-grandfather), अपरपुरुषः 'successor,' चरमपुरुषः 'last person,' जघन्यपुरुषः 'hindermost person,' समानपुरुषः 'equal person,' मध्य or मध्यमपुरुषः 'middle person,' वीरपुरुषः 'heroic person.'

श्रेयादयः कृतादिभिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रेणि-आदयः, कृत-
आदिभिः, (स०त०वि०सु०स०समान) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रेयादयः सुवन्ताः कृतादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो
भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रेयादिषु व्यर्थवचनम् ॥

59. The case-inflected words śrenī 'class' &c., are compounded with words kṛta 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them; and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

Vart:—The words श्रेणि &c., for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix चि (chvi). Thus श्रेण्ययः श्रेण्य. कृताः = श्रेणिकृता 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

The class of words called कृतादि are ākṛti-gaṇa and cannot be known a priori. This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II. 2. 18, since all words that end in chvi (चि) are called gati (I. 4. 61.)

1. श्रेणि = A line, a series. 2. एक = One or ऊक. 3. पृग = A heap, collection, multitude. 4. मुकुन्व = Name of Krishna or कुन्व. 5. राशि = A heap, mass, collection. 6. निचय = A collection, heap. 7. विषय = An object or विशेष. 8. निधन = Poor, indigent or विधान, निधान. 9. पर = Distant. 10. इन्द्र = The god of rain. 11. देव = Divine, celestial. 12. मुण्ड = Shaved, bald. 13. भूत = Become, being. 14. श्रमण = Sraman or श्रवण. 15. वदान्य = Liberal minded. 16. अध्यापक = A teacher. 17. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 18. ब्राह्मण = Brāhman. 19. क्षत्रिय = Kshatriya. 20. विशिष्ट = Distinguished, distinct. 21. पटु = Clever, skillful, dexterous. 22. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 23. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 24. चपल = Shaking, trembling, tremulous. 25. निपुण = Skillful, dexterous. 26. कृपण = Wretched, helpless.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृत = Done, performed, made. 2. मित = Measured 3. मत = Thought, believed, supposed. 4. भूत = Produced, formed. 5. उक्त = Said, spoken, uttered. 6. युक्त = Joined, united. 7. समाज्ञात = Known or understood thoroughly. 8. समाम्नात = Repeated, recited. 9. समाख्यात = Reckoned up, counted, summed up. 10. संभावित = Considered, supposed, imagined. 11. संसेवित = Served. 12. अवधारित = Ascertained, known. 13. अवकल्पित = Corresponded with, answered. 14. निराकृत = expelled, banished. 15. उपकृत = Assisted, benefited, served &c. 16. उपाकृत = Invited. 17. दृष्ट = Seen, looked, perceived. 18. कलित = Counted. 19. हलित =

Broken, torn, rent, burst. 20. उदाहृत = Said, uttered. 21. विश्रुत = Well-known, renowned. 22. उदित = Risen.

क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन, नञ्-विशिष्टेन, अनञ्, (स०त०वि०स०समानधि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चैव विशेषो यस्य सर्वमन्यत् प्रकृत्यादिकं तुल्यं तन्नञ्विशिष्टं तेन नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तेनानेन समानाधिकरणेन सह अनञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृतापकृतादीनामपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानाधिकरणधिकारे शाकपार्थिवदीनामपसंख्यानम्, उत्तरपरलोपश्च ॥ २ ॥

60. A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ is compounded with the same word ending with the affix kta but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ; and the compound is Tat purusha.

Thus कृतमुक्तम् 'done and not done,' भुक्तमुक्तं 'eaten and not eaten,' पीतमुक्तं 'drunk and not drunk,' उदितमुक्तं 'spoken and not spoken.'

The intermediate augment न or the इ, as in the following two examples, do not make the forms dissimilar. अशितानशितेन जीवति, क्षिष्टाक्षितेन वर्त्तते ॥

Vart:—The compounds कृतापकृत &c. should also be included.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1. कृतापकृत. 2. भुक्तविभुक्त. 3. पीतविपीत. 4. गतप्रत्यागत. 5. यातानुयात.
6. कदाकयिका. 7. पुत्रपुटिका. 8. फलाफलिका. 9. मानोन्मानिका.

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' i.e. an era making king.

1. शाकपार्थिव. 2. कुतपसैश्रुत. 3. अजातौल्लव.

सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-महत्-परम-उत्तम-उत्कृष्टाः, पूज्यमानैः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत् महत् परम उत्तम उत्कृष्ट इत्येते पूज्यमानैः सह समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

61. The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishṭa 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As सत्पुरुषः 'a good person,' महापुरुषः 'a great man,' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person,' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टः गौः कर्ईमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.'

वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृन्दारक-नाग-कुञ्जरैः, पूज्यमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृन्दारक नाग कुञ्जर इत्येतैः सह पूज्यमानवाचि सुवन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

62. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāraka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant'; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow,' अश्ववृन्दारकः 'an excellent horse'. So also गोनागः, गोकुञ्जरः &c. Why do we say 'when meaning the object deserving of respect?' Observe सुसीमोनागः 'the serpent Susīma.'

कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, जातिपरिप्रश्ने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कतर-कतमौ जाति-परिप्रश्ने वर्तमानौ समर्थेन सुधा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

63. The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which or who of many', when used in asking questions about the genus or class, are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कतरकठ and कतरकान्नापः 'which of the two is kaṭha, and which kā'āpa?' कतमकठः and कतमकान्नापः 'which of these is kaṭha &c.'

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्ने in the aphorism; since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 8. 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase

in the aphorism shows that the word कस्य has other meanings besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti; as कसरो भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is Devadatta,' and कसमो भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta.' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

किं क्षेपे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्, क्षेपे, (स०त०स०समानाधिकरणेनवि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमित्येतत् क्षेपे गम्यमाने सुपा सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

64. The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his subjects.' किं सखा योऽभिद्वेष्टति 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं गौः यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix टच् (V. 4. 91) does not come after this compound as in महाराजः, मन्त्रराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा.

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्य राजा = किं राजः 'whose king;' किंसखः

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वक्त्रयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोटा-युवति-स्तोक-कतिपय-गृष्टि-धेनु-वशा-वेहद्-वक्त्रयणी-प्रवक्तृ-श्रोत्रिय-अध्यापक-धूर्तैः, जातिः, (स०सह०त०वि०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पोटादिभिः सह जातिवाचि सुबन्तं समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

65. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with the words potâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milk-cow,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayaṇî 'a cow that has a full-grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' alhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow; and' the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As इमयोदा 'a young female elephant' इमयुवति 'a female elephant.' So also अग्निस्तोकाः 'a little fire' उद्विषत् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोगृष्टिः, गोधेनु, गोवशाः, गोदेहत्, गोवशकपणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kaṭha', कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmana who has mastered the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापक 'a teacher of the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmana well versed in the Kaṭha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

प्रशंसावचनैश्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि प्रशंसा-वचनैः, च, (स०त०वि०-जातिसह समानार्थ) ॥

वृत्ति. ॥ जातिवाचि सुबन्तं प्रशंसावचनैः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

66. A case-inflected word denoting a genus (jāti) is compounded with a word denoting praise and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढि) words like मतल्लिका &c., which retain their specific gender though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as, गोमकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' अश्व मतल्लिका 'an excellent horse' गोमवर्चस्वका 'an excellent cow.' These words are generally used at the end of a compound to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.'

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin.'

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ युवा, खलति-पलित-वलिन-जरतीभिः, (स०वि०त०स०सहसमानाधिकरणेन) ॥

वृत्ति. ॥ खलन्त्यादिभिः समानाधिकरणैः सह युवशब्दः समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

67. The word yuvâ 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलति = युवाखलतिः. So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवज्जितः fem. युवज्जिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युवज्जितः fem. युवज्जिता 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old.)

कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-तुल्य-आख्या , अजात्या , (स०वि०त०स०सु०)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य-प्रत्ययान्तास्तुल्यपर्यायाश्च सुबन्ता अजातिवचनेन समस्यन्ते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

68. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded with words which do not denote genus (jāti) being in the same case with them; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' भोज्यन्नवर्णं 'salt food' पानीयशीतलं 'cool drink, तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' समृशश्वेतः 'equally white.' समृशमहान् 'equally great.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe भोज्य भोदनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57.

वर्णो वर्णेन ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः , वर्णेन , (स०त०वि०सह समानाधि०) ॥ -

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णविशेषवाचि सुबन्तं वर्णविशेषवाचिना सुबन्तेन समानाधिकरणेन सह समस्यते , तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

69. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope,' लोहितसारङ्गः 'antelope dappled with red' कृष्णशङ्खः 'dappled with black spots' &c. For accent VI. 2. 3.

कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, श्रमण-आदिभिः,
(स०वि०त०स०समा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः श्रमणादिभिः सह समस्यते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

70. The word *kumâra* 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words *śramanâ* 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

In this list of *श्रमणा* and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as *श्रमणा*, *प्रव्रजिता*, *कुलटा*, the word *कुमार* must also be in the feminine gender; with the words which appear as masculine, e.g. *अभ्यापक*, *अभिरूपक*, *पंडित* the word *कुमार* must also be masculine, because 'a *Prâtîpadika* denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.

As, *कुमारीश्रमणा* and *कुमारश्रमणा* 'a virgin ascetic or a bachelor ascetic.'

श्रमणादिः ॥

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. तापसी = A hermit, devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. अभ्यापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. क्षण = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्पादः, गर्भिण्या,
(स०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादवाचिनः सुबन्ता गर्भिणी शब्देन समस्यन्ते, तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word *garbhini*, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

गोर्गर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Va†t:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here:—कालाक्षी गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called *Kâlâkshî* or *Svastimatî*.'

Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe *ब्राह्मणी गर्भिणी* .

मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयूर-व्यंसक-आदयः , च ,
स०८०वि०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदाया एव निपात्यन्ते मयूरव्यंसकादयः शब्दास्तत्पुरुषसंज्ञाश्च भवन्ति ॥

72. And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-purusha compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक .

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसक. 2. छात्र व्यंसक. 3. कम्बोजमुण्ड. 4. यवनमुण्ड. 5. हस्ते-
गृथ or हस्तगृथ in the Vedas. 6. पादेगृथ or पादगृथ. 7. लाङ्गुलेगृथ or लाङ्गूलगृथ.
8. पुनर्धाय ॥ एहीडादयो धन्यवदार्थे as, 9. एहीडं वर्तते. 10. एहियवं वर्तते ॥ 11.
एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) . 12. अपेहिवाणिजा. 13. प्रेहिवाणिजा. 14. एहिस्वागता .
15. अपहिस्वागता. 16. एहिद्वितीया. 17. अपेहिद्वितीया. 18. प्रेहिद्वितीया. 19.
एहिकटा. 20. अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा. 21. प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा. 22. आहरकरटा .
23. प्रेहिकर्मा. 24. प्रोहकर्मा. 25. निधमचूडा. 26. उद्धमचूडा. 27. उद्धरचूडा.
28. आहरचैला. 29. आहर वसना. 30. (आहरसेना) . 31. आहरवनिता. 32.
(आहरवितना) . 33. कुन्तविचक्षणा. 34. उद्धरोत्सृजा. 35. उद्धरावसृजा. 36.
उद्धमविधमा. 37. उत्पचनित्या or विपचा. 38. उत्पतनिपता. 39. उचावचम् .
40. उद्यनीचम्. 41. आचोपचम्. 42. आचपराचम्. 43. नखप्रचम्. 44. निश्वप्रचम् .
45. अकिंचन. 46. स्नात्वाकालक. 47. पीत्वास्थिरक. 48. भुक्तासुहित. 49.
प्रेष्यपापीयान्. 50. उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला. 51. निपत्यरोहिणी. 52. निषण-
श्यामा. 53. अपेहिप्रपसा. 54. एहिषिषसा. 55. इहपचमी. 56. इहद्वितीया ॥ जहि
कर्षणा बहुलमाभोदण्ये कर्तां चाभिधानि. 57. जहिजोडः. 58. जहिजोडम्. 59.
जहिस्तम्बम्. 60. (जहिस्तम्ब.) . 61. उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or उज्ज, आरव्यातमारव्यानेन
क्रियासातत्प्रे. 62. अग्रनोतपिबिता. 63. पञ्चतभृज्जता. 64. खादतभोदता. 65. खादच-
पमता. 66. खादताचमता. 67. आहरनिवपा. 68. आहरनिष्क्रिया. 69. आवप-
निष्क्रिया. 70. उत्पचविपचा. 71. भिन्धिलक्षणा. 72. कुन्धिविक्षणा. 73. पञ्चलक्षणा.
74. पञ्चप्रकृता .

आकृतिगणोऽयम् .

1. अकृतोऽभयः . 2. कान्दिर्णकः . 3. कन्दिशीकः . 4. आहोपुरुषिका . 5. अहमहमिका . 6. यइच्छा . 7. एहिरेयाहिरा . 8. उन्मृजावमृजा . 9. व्रथान्नरम् . 10. अवश्यकार्यम्

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER II.

पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व-अपर-
अधर-उत्तरम्, एकदेशिना, एकाधिकरणे, (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकदेशोऽस्यास्तीत्येकदेशी अवयवी तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह पूर्वापराधरोत्तर-
शब्दाः सामर्थ्यादेकदेशवचना. समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

1. The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word '*ekādhikaraṇa*' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word '*ekadeśin*.' This debar the Genitive *Tāt-purusha* compound ordained by sūtra 9; which would have placed the words '*pūrva*' &c., last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body'; अधरकायः 'the lower part of the body'; and उत्तरकायः 'the upper part of the body.'

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्वनामेः कायस्य. But not so in पूर्व छात्राणामामन्त्रय 'invite the fore-most of the pupils'; because here the substratum (*adhikaraṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But how do we get the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening'? The word '*ahna*' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, because we learn this by inference from sūtra VI. 3. 110.

अर्द्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्द्धम्, नपुंसकम्, (स०वि०त०सु०-
स०एकदेशिना एकाधिकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धमित्येतन्नपुंसकमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

2. The word अर्द्ध *ardha* when it signifies exactly equal parts i. e. halves, is always neuter, and is compounded with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The word अर्द्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars sūtra 9; as अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः = अर्द्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper'; अर्द्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātakī.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्द्धः 'half the village'; नगरार्द्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadeśin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्द्धपशोर्वेवदस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikarana' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्द्धपिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीय-
तृतीय-चतुर्थ-तुर्याणि , अन्यतरस्याम् , (स०त०वि०एक-एक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि एकदेशिनैकाधिकरणेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

3. The words dvitīya, 'second,' tṛtīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

This also debars sūtra 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयं भिक्षायाः = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra 9. we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं. So also with the words तृतीयभिक्षा , चतुर्थभिक्षा , तुर्यभिक्षा .

Vart.—The word तुरीय 'fourth' should also be included. As भिक्षा-
तुरीयं or तुरीयभिक्षा .

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य or द्वितीयं भिक्षाणाम् .

प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राप्त-आपन्ने , च , द्वितीयया , (स०त०वि०स०सु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राप्त आपन्न इत्येतौ द्वितीयान्तेन सह समस्येते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

4. The words *prāpta* 'obtained,' and *āpanna* 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The *anuvṛitti* of the words 'ekadeśin' and 'ekādhikaraṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्तो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः .

कालाः परिमाणिना ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालाः, परिमाणिना , (स०-वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणमस्यास्तीति परिमाणो तद्वाचिना सुबन्तेन सह सामर्थ्यात् परिमाणवचनाः कालशब्दाः समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

5. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

5 This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य = मासजातः 'a month old' (born a month ago.) So also संवत्सरजातः 'a year old.' द्वहजातः 'two-days' old.' &c.

नञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ् , (समर्थःस०वि०त०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ् समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तडि क्षेपे ॥

6. The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As न ब्राह्मणः = अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The *र* of न is elided by VI. 3. 73:

Vart:—The *र* of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that censure is implied as अपचसि त्वं जात्य 'thou cookest not O knave.'

The word नम् has six senses:—(1) सादृश्य 'likeness or resemblance as अग्राक्षः 'one like a Brāhmaṇa and wearing the sacred thread &c., but not Brāhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.' (2) अभाव 'absence,' 'negation' 'want,' or 'privation,' as अज्ञान 'absence of knowledge.' (3) भेदः 'difference or 'distinction,' as अपटः 'not a cloth, but something different from or other than a cloth'. (4) अल्पता 'smallness,' 'diminution' used as diminutive particle, as अनुहरा 'having a slender waist.' (5) अयशस्व 'badness,' 'unfiness,' having a depreciative sense, as अकाल 'wrong or improper time.' (6) विरोध 'opposition,' 'contrariety,' as अनीति: 'opposite of morality,' 'immorality.'

ईषदकृता ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषद् , अकृता , (स०त०वि०सु०स०)

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषद्विषयं शब्दोऽकृदन्तेन सुपा सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईषद् गुणवचनेनेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

7. The word īshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडारः 'a somewhat proud.' ईषत्पिङ्गलः 'a little brownish.' ईषद्विकटः 'a little hideous.' ईषदुन्नतः 'a little raised.' ईषत् पीतम् 'a little yellow.' ईषद्रक्तम् 'a little red.'

Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्यः there is no compounding here.

षष्ठी ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , (स०वि०त०सु०स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तं सुबन्तं समर्थेन सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कृत्योणा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो = राजपुरुषः 'the king's man' ब्राह्मणकम्बलः 'the Brāhmaṇa's blanket.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word Rule II. 3. 65., states the conditions when a kṛit-formed

word governs the genitive case. Thus **इधमप्रधनः** 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter), **पलाशशालनः** 'Palāśadestroyer.

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by kṛit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 50, is a 'prātipadavidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see vārtika under II. 2. 10.

याजकादिभिश्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ याजक-आदिभिः, च, (स०-त०वि०सु०स०षष्ठी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ याजकादिभिः सह षष्ठी समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तस्यैव गुणैः षष्ठी समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गुणोत्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

9. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word yājaka 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by Rule 16 in the case of याजक &c.; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition. As **ब्राह्मणयाजकः** 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.' **क्षत्रिययाजकः** 'one who sacrifices for Kshatriyas.

(याजकादि) .

1. याजक . 2. पूजक . 3. परिचारक . 4. परिवेषक . 5. परिषेचक .
6. स्नापक or स्नातक . 7. अध्यापक . 8. उस्ताहक or उस्तादक . 9. उदरक .
10. होतृ . 11. भर्तृ . 12. रथगणक . 13. पत्तिगणक . 14. पीतृ . 15. हतृ .
16. वर्तक .

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As **ब्राह्मणवर्णः** 'Brāhmana-caste.' **चन्दनगन्धः** 'sandal-scent.' **कपित्थरसः** 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree; and the sign of comparison **तर** is elided. Thus **सर्वेषां श्वेततरः** = **सर्वश्वेतः** 'the whitest of all.' **सर्वेषां महत्तरः** = **सर्वमहान्** 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra which prohibits composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus **सर्वगुह्या गौः** 'a cow whitest among all.'

न निर्धारणे ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, निर्धारणे, (सप्तमिषु-
सप्तमि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्धारणे वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना न षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa).

With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa.' As क्षत्रियो मनुष्याणां शूरतमः 'the Kshatriya is the most powerful amongst men.' कृष्णा गवां संपन्नशरीरतमः 'the black cow is the most milk-giving amongst cows.' धावन्नधगानां शीघ्रतमः 'the runner is the swiftest amongst walkers.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41.

Vart:—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50, is never compounded. See sūtra 8. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषोऽज्ञानम्, मधुनोऽज्ञानम्.

पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥
पूरण-गुण-सुहित-अर्थ-सद्-अव्यय-तव्य-समानाधिकरणेन (षष्ठीन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरण गुण सुहितार्थ सद् अव्यय तव्य समानाधिकरण इत्येतैः सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

11. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of an ordinal, an attribute, or satisfaction, or with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127) or an indeclinable, or ending with the affix tavya, or with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) छात्राणां पंचमः 'fifth amongst the pupils,' छात्राणाम् दशमः. (2) काकस्य काल्पयम् 'the blackness of the crow,' बलाकायाः सौरभ्यम्. (3) फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits,' फलानां दमः. (4) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यः 'the doing of a Brāhmaṇa. (5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा. (6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम्. When however the affix is तव्यम् having the indicatory (III. 1. 96.) there is compounding as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्यम् 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' (7) राज्ञः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pataliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sūtra composer

Pāṇini.' We can however form a compound like the following **संज्ञकारपाणिनिः** । By the general rule relating to words in apposition contained in sūtra II. 1. 57, the difference between that sūtra and the present, is as to position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

क्तेन च पूजायाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तेन , च , पूजायाम् , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तो यः पूजायां विहितस्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

12. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' &c.

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा; and pājā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

As **राज्ञां मतः—बुद्धः—पूजितः** 'the king wishes, understands or respects.'

Why do we say 'when meaning respect'? When 'kta' has not this signification there is compounding. As **छात्रहसितं** 'pupil's laughing.'

अधिकरणवाचिना च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-वाचिना , च , (स० षष्ठी न क्तेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिना क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

13. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened.

When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating', it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i. e., that the action is located by the agent in his or that site (III. 4. 76); as **इदमेषां यातम्** 'here they have gone.' **इदमेषां भुक्तम्** 'here they have eaten.'

कर्मणि च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , च , (स० षष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि-च या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते ॥

14. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative.

The anuvṛitti of कृ does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashtī. Sūtra II. 3. 66 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed *i. e.*, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by kṛit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent; as आश्वयो गवां रोहीणीपालकेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder.' रोचते ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'eating of rice agrees with Devadatta.' साधु खलु पयसः पानं देवदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Devadatta is indeed excellent.' विचित्रा सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनिना 'wonderful is the structure of sūtras by Pāṇini.'

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृज्-अकाभ्याम्, कर्तरि,
(संषष्ठी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृजाङ्केन च सह न समस्यते ॥

15. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka,' when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the genitive-case. The affix तृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1. 133, and the affix अकृ is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element वृ are अकृ; such as एवुवुल् or वुम् or वुन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.) Thus भवतः शायिका 'your honor's repose' भवत आशिका 'your eating' भवतोऽगामिका 'your going in front.'

The affix तृच् is employed always in forming nouns of agency; hence there can be no example of a word in a genitive case having the force of an agent, governing another word also having the force of an agent. The तृच् therefore serves no purpose in this aphorism, but applies to the sūtras that follow.

The genitive has the force of an agent under conditions mentioned in II 3. 65.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयति.

कर्तरि च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च (संषष्ठीनतृजकाभ्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि च यौ तृजकौ ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते ॥

16. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' affix when the force of these latter affixes is that of an agent.

The word 'kartari' qualifies the word 'aka' only and not 'trich,' for the latter always denotes the agent and nothing else.

As अयां सृष्टा 'the creator of waters' पुरां भेत्ता 'the destroyer of cities' इजस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunderbolt.'

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of वाजक (sūtra 9) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.'

The above are examples of words formed by हृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक्; thus भोजनस्य भोजकः 'the eater of rice,' सकृन्नां गयकः 'the drinker of saktu.'

नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, क्रीडा-जीविकयोः, (सु०त०षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीडायां जीविकायां च निरर्थं षष्ठी समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

17. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when these affixes denote a sport or a livelihood; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. This anuvṛtiti of the word 'na' which began with sūtra 10, does not extend further. The affix हृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka.' Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed.' So also वारणपुष्पग्रचायिका 'a play of gathering flowers.'

So also दन्तलेखकः 'one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth.' नखलेखक 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe भोजनस्य भोजकः.

कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कु-गति-प्र-आदयः, (स०त०-नित्यसमर्थः सह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कु गति प्रादयः समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह निरर्थं समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्यादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवाद्यः कृष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चमया ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इवेन सह निरर्थसमासो विभक्त्यलोपः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरस्य च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिप्रसङ्गे कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

18. The indeclinable word *ku* 'bad,' the particles called *gati*, and the prepositions *pra*, &c., are invariably compounded with other words with which they are in construction; and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*.

The word *ku* means 'badness or sin'; as, *कुपुरुषः* 'a sinful man'; (2) *Gati* (I. 4. 60) as, *उदरीकृतं* 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) *यद्वरीकरोति* ॥

So also with the words *प्र* &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or '*gati*'; as *दुर्* meaning 'bad,' in *दुष्पुरुषः* 'a bad man'; so also *सु* and *अति* meaning 'respect' in *सुपुरुषः* 'honorable man'; *अतिपुरुषः* 'excellent man'; *आ* means 'a little' as *आपिङ्गलः* 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as *कोष्णं* or *कदुष्णम्* or *कवोष्णम्* 'tepid.' So also *दुष्कृतम्*, *अतिस्तुतम्* and *आवद्गम्* ॥

Vart:—The words *प्र* &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus *प्राचार्यः* 'a hereditary teacher'; so also *प्रान्तेवासी*.

Vart:—The words *अति* &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As *अतिक्रान्तः खट्वम् = अतिखट्वः*. (I. 2. 44 and 48) 'without a bed-stead,' *अतिमालः* 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.'

Vart:—The words *अव* &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix as *अवकुटः कोकिलया = अव कोकिलः* 'what is announced by the cuckoo' *i. e.*, the Spring.

Vart:—The words *परि* &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix as *परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाद्य = पर्याध्ययनः* 'weary of study,' *अलंकुमारिः* 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart:—The words *निर्* &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as *निष्कौशाखिः* 'who has gone beyond Kausāmbi'; so also *निर्वाराणसिः*.

Vart:—A word enters into composition with *इव* 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as *वागर्थोऽपि* 'like a word and its meaning,' *वाससीदिव* 'like two garments.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of *प्र* &c., when they are '*Karma pravachaniya*'; as *वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत्* 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree.' *साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति* 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

उपपदमतिङ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपपदम्, अतिङ् (स०स०-
नि०समर्थःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपदमतिङन्तं समर्थेन शब्दान्तरेण सह समस्यते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

19. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92), which does not end with a tense-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.'

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe एषानाहारको व्रजति 'he goes to bring fuel.

• It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant; since the anuvṛtti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the last aphorism. The following Paribhāṣa also arises from this sūtra.

यतिकारको पदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛit-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras 18 and 19 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus अश्वं क्रीयती 'a female brought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा = अश्वं क्रीत; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix दाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

अमैवावययेन ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमा, एव, अवययेन (स०स०-
नि०स०उपपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवययेनोपपदस्य यः समासः सोऽमैव भवति नान्येन ॥

20. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम्.

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वादुंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix तमुन् (III. 4. 26) &c.

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय or वेला 'time.')

The force of the word only is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root with regard to any upapada; so that no composition will take place where the affix अम् as well as another affix is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and तमुन् come after a verb when the words अमे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix तमुन्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अमेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition because अमेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अमेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense.

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-प्रभृतीनि
अन्यतरस्याम् (स०त०३०अमैवावययेन) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशंसन्तृतीयायामिरयतः प्रभृति दान्युपपदानि तान्यमैवावययेन सहान्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुषश्च समासो भवति ॥

21. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47) &c., is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अम् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपशं भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपशं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.' So also पार्श्वोपपीड or पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् शेते (III. 4. 49) 'he lies pressing on his ribs.' For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c. This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अम्; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāṣā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāṣā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix.

क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वा , च, (स०त०तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्य-
न्यतरस्यान् उप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययेन सह द्वितीया प्रभृतीन्युपपदानि अन्यतरस्यां समस्यन्ते तत्पुरुष-
समासो भवति ॥

22. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix *ktvā*; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्यैः कृत्य or उच्यैः कृता . Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्; otherwise not. See VII. 1 37.

The condition of the upapadas being in the 3rd case &c., applies here also. Therefore there is no composition in अलं कृत्वा or खलु कृत्वा .

शेषो बहुव्रीहिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , बहुव्रीहिः (स०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषः समासो बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

23. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above, will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism and extends up to sūtra 28. Thus चिन्नगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.'

अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेकम् , अन्य-पद-अर्थे (स०-
बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तमन्यपदार्थे वर्त्तमानं समस्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुव्रीहिः समानाधिकरणानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययानां च बहुव्रीहिवृत्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्युपमानपूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समुदायविकारषष्ठ्याश्च बहुव्रीहिरुत्तरपदलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रादिभ्यो धातुनस्योत्तरपदस्य लोपश्च वा बहुव्रीहिवृत्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नमोऽस्त्यर्थानां बहुव्रीहिर्वा चोत्तरपदलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुबधिकारेऽस्तिभीरादीनां बहुव्रीहिवृत्तव्यः ॥

24. Two or more words, ending in any case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually; and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्रातमुदकं ग्रामं = प्रातोदको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊढरथोऽनङ्गान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उग्रहृतपशुकुद्रः 'Rūdra to whom cattle is offered.' ऋजुतोदना स्थानी 'a vessel in which rice is placed.' श्विनमुदवदत्तः 'Devadatta possessed of a brindled cow.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

Why do we say 'more than one'? So that there may be compounding of many words, as in the following verse :—

सुसूक्ष्मजटकेणेन सुलभाजिनवाससा । पुत्री पर्वतराजस्य कुतो हेतोर्विवाहिता ॥

'Why was the daughter of the king of the mountains married by Siva possessed of beautifully-delicate-locked-hair, and cheap-deer-skin-dress.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as पञ्चभिर्मुक्तमस्य .

Vart:—The compounds of indeclinables are Bahuvrīhi; as उच्चैर्मुखः 'possessed of raised mouth.' So also नीचैर्मुखः &c.

Vart:—The second member is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound of which the first member is a word in the locative case, or a word with which comparison is made (उपमान). As, कण्ठे स्थितः कान्ठोऽस्य = कण्ठे कान्ठः 'in whose throat there is blackness (Siva).' उरसिज्जोमः 'who has hair on his chest.' उष्ट्रस्य मुखनिव मुखं यस्य सः = उष्ट्रमुखः 'he whose face is like that of a camel.' खरमुखः 'ass-faced.'

Vart:—Bahuvrīhi compound may be formed after eliding the second member with a word in the sixth case denoting 'collection or modification.' As केशानां संघातः = केशसंघातः, केशसंघातधूङ्गाऽस्य = केशचूडः 'he who has a collection of hair as crest.' सुवर्णस्य विकारोऽनङ्कारोऽस्य = सुवर्णनङ्कारः 'he who has ornaments made of gold.'

Vart:—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.' So also प्रपलाशाः .

Vart:—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As, अविद्यमानं पुत्री यस्य = अपुत्रः 'childless.' So also अभाढ्यः 'wifeless.'

Vart:—Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇī having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥

संख्यया , अव्यय-आसन्न-अदूर-अधिक-संख्याः , संख्येये , (स०बहुव्रीहिःसह) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्येये या संख्या यस्मिन् तथा सहाव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

25. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपद्शाः (V. 4. 73) 'those who are near ten i.e. nine or eleven.' Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142). So also आसन्नद्शाः 'nine or eleven.' अदूरद्शाः 'nine or eleven.' अधिकद्शाः 'eleven.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विधाः 'two or three.' द्विद्शाः 'twenty.'

Why do we say 'with a numeral'? Observe पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brāhmanas.'

Why do we say 'with an Indeclinable &c'? Witness ब्राह्मणाः पञ्च . Why do we say 'when denoting a numeral'? Observe अधिका विंशतिर्गवाम् 'of cows more than twenty.'

दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिङ्-नामानि , अन्तराले (स०बहु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्नामानि सुबन्तानि अन्तराले वाच्ये समस्यन्ते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवप्रावः ॥

26. Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वाद् दक्षिणपूर्वाद् dakshina-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra to indicate that no compounding takes place when the words denoting direction are derivative words whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकौबेर्याश्च दक्षिणोर्वन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

Vart:—Whenever a Bahuvrīhi gets the designation of Sarvanāman (I. 1. 28, 29), the first term becomes masculine, by VI. 3. 34; as इक्षिणा + पूर्वा = इक्षिणपूर्वा ॥

तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, तेन , इदम्, इति,
सरूपे (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनेति सख्यन्ते सरूपे पदे तेनेति च तृतीयान्ते इतिरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे समख्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

27. Two homonymous words, both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case) are compounded, the sense being 'this happens therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case,' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति. The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of seizing; and the word is exhibited in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of striking; the word indicated by the word इति is युद्ध; as कोशुकोशेषु च गृहीत्वा इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = कोशाकेषु (VI. 3. 137 and V. 4. 127.) 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; कषाकषि 'hair against hair'; इण्डैश्च इण्डैश्च मृदस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तं = इण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave;' so also मूलालमूलाली. In the above examples the samāsānta āffix इच् is added at the end by rule V. 4. 127; and all such words are Avyaya or indeclinable. The final vowel of the first term is lengthened by Rule VI. 3. 137.

Why do we say 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: हलैश्च मुषलैश्च मृदस्य इदं युद्धं वृत्तम्.

तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, सह-इति, तुल्य-
योगे, (स०बहुव्रीहिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहैत्येतच्छुद्धकृतं तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं तेनेति तृतीयान्तेन सह समख्यते बहुव्रीहिश्च समासो भवति ॥

28. The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्मकः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहेव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons.'

How do we get the forms like सकर्मकः, सलोमकः, सपत्नकः &c., in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य गोपवचनं प्रायिकं).

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-अर्थे, द्वन्द्वः, (स० अनेकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं समस्यते द्वन्द्वश्च समासो भवति ॥

29. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and' the set is made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meanings that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वयाच्चय 'collateralness of reference,' (3) इतरैतरयोः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *viz.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1). Composition is enjoined therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and lumping. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामटं गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following वृक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = वृक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So धव-खरि-पलाशाः, वाक्-चक्षुः, वादुषदम् ॥

उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्जनम्, पूर्वम् (समासः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनसंज्ञकं समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

30. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43) is to be placed first in a compound.

The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first. The constant application of this rule has been illustrated in the previous aphorisms. Without this rule, there would have been no fixity as to the position of words.

राजदन्तादिषु परम् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजदन्त-आदिषु, परम्, स० उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजदन्तादिषु परमुपसर्जनं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

31. the upasarjana is to be put last in the word Râjadanta &c.

Thus राजदन्तः (रन्तानां राजा) ' a chief of teeth ' (i.e., an eyetooth), is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples ; words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in the list as second.

1. राजदन्तः . 2. अमेघणम् . 3. लिङ्गवासितम् . 4. नम्रमुषितम् . 5. सिन्धुमृष्टम् . 6. मृष्टलुङ्घितम् . 7. अवह्निजपक्रमे . 8. अर्पितोत्तम् . 9. (अर्पितोत्तम्) . 10. उत्सगदम् . 11. उत्तलुङ्घितम् . 12. तण्डुलकिण्वम् . 13. दृष्टदुपलम् . 14. आरयति . 15. (आरग्वयनबन्धकी) . 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकम् . 17. अवन्त्यश्मकम् . 18. शूद्रार्थम् . 19. स्नातकराजानौ . 20. विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ . 21. अन्तिभुवम् . 22. हारगव . 23. शब्दार्थी . 24. धर्मार्थी . 25. कामार्थी . 26. अर्थशब्दौ . 27. अर्थधर्म . 28. अर्थकामौ . 29. वैकारिमत् . 30. गाजवाजम् . 31. (गोजवाजम् . 32. गोपालधनपूजासम् . 33. (गोपालधनपूजासम्) . 34. पूजासकारणम् . 35. (पूजासकारणम्) . 36. स्थूलासम् . 37. (स्थूलपूजासम्) . 38. शरीरबीजम् . 39. (जिज्ञास्य . 40. सिद्धास्थम् . 41. (सिद्धास्थम्) . 42. चित्रास्वाती . 43. (चित्रस्वाति . 44. भार्यापती . 45. रम्पती . 46. जम्पती . 47. जायापती . 48. पुत्रपती . 49. पुत्रपशू . 50. केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ . 51. शिरोविजु . 52. शिरोबीजम् . 53. शिरोजानु . 54. सर्पिर्मधुनी . 55. मधुसर्पिणी . 56. आद्यन्तौ . 57. अन्तर्व . 58. गुणवृद्धी . 59. वृद्धिगुणी .

द्वन्द्वे चि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे , चि , (स०उ०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे ज्यन्तं पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

32. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called चि (I. 4. 7) stand first.

As हरिहरौ ' Hari and Hara,' So also पटुगुप्तौ and मृदुगुप्तौ. When there are more than one such चि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest to follow no fixed rule. As पटुमृदुगुह्याः पटुगुह्यमृदुगुह्याः .

Why do we say 'Dvandva? Observe विसृष्टपटुः which is Tat-purusha.

अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्-आदि-अदन्तम् (स०उ०पूर्वम्द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजाद्यदन्तं शब्दकृतं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुवचनियमः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वेऽज्जाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

33. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, उष्ट्रश्चरम् 'the camel and the ass,' उष्ट्रश्चाशकम् 'the camel and the hare.'

Vart:—When there are many such words there is no fixed rule. As अश्वरथेन्द्राः or इन्द्ररथाश्वाः .

Vart:—In the Dvandva compounds the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अत्रायदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी or इन्द्रवायू . Here अग्नि and वायु though चि, do not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2).

Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृषः = अश्वावृषो or वृषाश्वे .

अल्पाक्षरम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्पाक्षरम् , (सङ्ख्येपूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अल्पाक्षरं शब्दकथं द्वन्द्वे समासे पूर्वप्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋतुनक्षत्राणामनुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थहितं च पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रातृश्च ऊयायसः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याया अन्वीयस्याः पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः ॥

34. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus हस्त + न्यग्रीध = हस्तन्यग्रीधो ; and धवखदिरपनाशाः ॥

When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शंखकुन्डुभिर्वीणाः or वीणाशंखकुन्डुभयः .

Vart:—Names of seasons and stars consisting of equal number of syllables should be arranged in the compound according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; श्रित्रास्थाती ; कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ .

When they do not consist of equal syllables, the shorter should be placed first; as दीप्तिवसन्तो .

Vart:—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first. As, कुशाक्षः, शरशाहः .

Vart:—The more honorable of the two is placed first; as, मातापितरौ 'mother and father,' भ्रष्टानेधे 'faith and intelligence' दीक्षातपसी 'initiation and austerity'.

Vart:—The castes are placed according to their order: as, ब्राह्मणक्षत्रि
विद् बुद्धाः ‘Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Vaiśya and Sudra.’ There is no limitation
of equality of syllables here.

Vart:—The name of the elder brother is placed first; as युधिष्ठिरार्जुन
‘Yudhishtira and Arjuna.’

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विसा ‘two
and three’; त्रिचतुरा ‘three and four.’

सप्तमी विशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी , विशेषणे
बहुव्रीहौ , (स०पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा मियस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्याः पूर्वनिपाते प्राप्ते गड्वादिभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तं परम् ॥

35. A word with the seventh case-affix and an
epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no
rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as
कण्ठेकालः ‘who is black in the throat.’ So also उरसिलोमा , चित्रगुः , शबजगुः .

Vart:—The sarvanāmas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वरवेतः
सर्वकृष्णः , द्विगुहः , द्विकृष्णः . In a compound formed by the composition of sarva
nāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वयस्यः
त्रयस्यः &c.

Vart:—The word मिय may optionally stand first; as गुडमियः ०
मियगुडः .

Vart:—After the words गड् &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes
as subsequent; as गडुकण्ठः ‘a hump-necked’; गडुशिराः &c.

How is then the word बहेगडुः ‘hump in the shoulder’ to be
explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the excep-
tional vārtika.

निष्ठा , ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा , (स०बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च बहुव्रीहिसमासे पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ निष्ठायाः पूर्वनिपाते जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परश्चनम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्यश्च परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

36. What ends with a Nishṭhâ (I. 1. 26) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus युक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकठः 'one who has made the mat'; निक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, शाङ्गजन्धी, मासजातः, and सुखजातः &c.

Vart:—The words ending in Nishṭha or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking'; as अस्युद्यत 'ready with sword'; दण्डपाणिः 'holding sceptre in hand.'

वाहिताग्न्यादिषु ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आहित-अग्नि-आदिषु
(निष्ठा पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहिताग्न्यादिषु निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं वा प्रयोज्यम् ॥

37. In the compounds Ahitâgni and the like, the Nishṭhâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

1. आहिताग्निः. 2. जातपुत्रः. 3. जातदन्तः. 4. जातशुभ्रः. 5. तैलपीतः.
6. घृतपीतः. 7. मद्यपीतः. 8. ऊढभार्यः. 9. गतार्थः.

आकृतिगणोऽयम्.

1. गडुकण्डः. 2. अस्युद्यत्. 3. (अरमुद्यत्). 4. दण्डपाणिप्रभृतयोऽपि.

This आहिताग्नि class is Akṛitigaṇa; so that words like गडु &c., must be looked for in this class.

कडाराः कर्मधारये ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कडाराः, कर्मधारये,
(समासे पूर्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडारादयः शब्दाः कर्मधारये समासे वा पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

38. The words kaḍārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya.

Thus कडारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकडारः Kaḍārajaiminiḥ or jaiminikaḍārah. 'The tawny Jaimini.'

1. कडार . 2. गडुन . 3. खज्ज . 4. खोड . 5. काण . 6. कुण .
 7. खज्जति . 8. गौर . 9. वृद्ध . 10. भिक्षुक . 11. पिङ्ग . 12. पिङ्गल . 13.
 पिङ्गल) . 14. तद्ध . 15. तनु . 16. जडर . 17. बधिर . 18. मठर . 19.
 तज्ज . 20. बर्बर .

This sūtra enjoins an option where by general rule guṇa words being
 ttributes would have invariably stood first.

Why do we say 'in the karmadhāraya compound'? Observe कडार-
 रुषो ग्रामः 'a village of tawny men,' which is Bahuvrīhi. Here ends the force
 of I. 4. 1 and II. 1. 3.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK SECOND.

CHAPTER III.

अनभिहिते ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-अभिहिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनभिहित इत्यधिकारोऽयं वेदितव्यः । यदित उर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनभिहित इत्येवं तदेदितव्यम् ॥

1. The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word.

Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise. The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c., are applied to a noun, only then, when the force of the case-affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned or exhibited. The force of a case-affix may be so denoted either by first, the conjugational affixes निङ् ; secondly, by the Primary affixes or कुन्, thirdly, by the secondary affixes तद्धित ; or lastly by compounds. Thus sūtra 2 declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat'; ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But the object can otherwise be denoted. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as कृत्यते कटः 'the mat is made.' Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 1. 69. So also by the kṛit affix, as कृत. कटः 'the mat is made,' see Sūtra III. 4. 70. So also by a Tadribhita affix as शतश्रु or शतश्रुः meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीतः . Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्तमुद्रकं ग्रामम् = प्राप्तेऽङ्को ग्रामः ॥

कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि , द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि कारको या संख्या तत्र द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ उभयसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुवर्थादिषु त्रिषु ।

द्वितीयाऽन्नेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अभित-परित-समया-निकषा हा-प्रति-योगेषु च दृश्यते ॥

2. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, i. e. when the verb does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of suffixes. कटं करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.'

The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्यपरि, अधोऽधः, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative. Some times other cases also, as उभयतो ग्रामं 'on both sides of the village'; सर्वतो ग्रामं 'on all sides of the village'; धिक् देवदत्तं 'fie to Devadatta'; उपर्यपरि ग्रामम् 'just over the village'; अधोऽधः or अधोधो ग्रामम् 'just below the village.'

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round', समया, निकट both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभितां ग्रामम् 'round the village,' ग्रामं समया 'near the village,' ह देवदत्तं 'woe be to Devadatta'; बुभुक्षितम्न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind.' See I. 4. 49 &c.

तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, च, होः छन्दसि, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये जुहोते. कर्मणि कारके तृतीया विभक्ति भवति द्वितीया च ॥

3. In the *chhandas* (veda), the object of the verb *hu* 'to sacrifice' takes the affix of the third case, and of the second as well.

This ordains the third case-affix; and by force of the word च 'and' the second case-affix is also employed as यवाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he satisfies or pleases Agni with barley-powder,' or यवाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति 'he throws barley powder into the fire as oblation.'

Why do we say 'in the vedas?' In the classical Sanskrit, the accusative only must be used and not the instrumental.

अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, युक्ते (द्वितीया)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते निपातो साहचर्यात् गृह्यते। आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया विभक्ति भवति ॥

4. A word joined with (or governed by) the word *antarā*, or *antareṇa* takes the second case-affix.

The *anuvṛtti* of *dvitīyā* is understood here and not that of *tritīyā*. Both these words *antarā* and *antareṇa* are *Nipātas*. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word *antarā* means 'between' while *antareṇa* means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding.' As. अन्तरेण पुरुषकारं न किञ्चित् भवति 'nothing can be

gained without exertion. अन्तरा or अन्तरेण त्वां च मां च कम्डलुः 'the bowl is between thee and me.' कोऽन्यस्त्वां मां तरेण शक्तः पतिकर्तुम् 'who else but thee is able to retaliate.'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तत्तद्विशिष्टां च पाठलिपुत्रं सुप्रस्य प्राकारः .

कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-अध्वनोः , अत्यन्त-संयोगे ; (द्वितीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काल शब्देभ्योऽध्वशब्देभ्यश्च द्वितीया विभक्ति र्भवति अत्यन्त संयोगे गम्यमाने ॥

5. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous-during the month' (uninterruptedly), संवत्सरं पुष्पाः 'flowers during the year continually,' क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं पर्वतः 'the hill through one full kos.' सभा वैश्रवणी राजन् शतयोजनमायता 'O king the hall of Viśravaṇa is 100 yojanas in length.'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity?' Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वतः ॥

अपवर्गे तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपवर्गे , तृतीया , (कालाध्वनो रत्यन्तसंयोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपवर्गे गम्यमाने कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया विभक्ति र्भवति ॥

6. The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed.

मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka in a month,' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos.'

The word अपवर्ग means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before.' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year.'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनुवाकः 'learnt for a month, but not yet completed, the Anuvāka.'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी-पञ्चम्यौ कारक-मध्ये , (कालाध्वनोर०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारकयोर्मध्ये यौ कालाध्वनौ ताभ्यां सप्तमी पञ्चम्यौ विभक्तिं भवतः ॥

7. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and another action (or implies an interval of time and space between two kārakas).

Ex. अद्य भुक्ता देवदत्तो द्युहे द्यूहाद्वाभोक्ता 'having dined today, Devadatta will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्योऽयमिवास्. क्रोशात् क्रोशे वा लङ् विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the action, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीय-युक्ते द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

8. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravaachanīya (I. 4. 83),

Ex. शाकल्यस्य संहितामनुप्रावर्षत् 'It rained on (hearing) the reading of the Veda by Sākalya.' So also आगस्त्यमन्वसिंचत् प्रजाः ॥

यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मादधिकं, यस्य, च, ईश्वर-वचनं, तत्र, सप्तमी, (कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्युक्ते तत्र सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

9. Where a word is governed by a karmapravaachanīya in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the 7th case-affix (locative) is employed.

Ex. डण्डार्यान् द्रोण. 'A Drona is more than a Khāri,' अधिब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चाल 'Brahmadatta is the lord of Panchālas.' The phrase यस्यचेश्वर वचनं indicates that both the thing owned and the owner may be in the locative. See I. 4. 97.

This aphorism debars the accusative.

पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , अप-आङ्-परिभिः , (कर्मप्रवचनीययु०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप आङ् परि इत्येतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयेष्वेते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

10. The fifth case-affix (Ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the following karmapravachanīyas i. e. apa, āñ and pari.

Ex. अत्र or आ or परि पाटलिपुत्रादावुटे रेवः 'It rained off or upto or with the exclusion of, Pāṭaliputra.'

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योतते विद्युन् (I. 4. 90).

प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-निधि-प्रतिदाने , च , यस्मात् (कर्मप्र०) (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात्प्रतिनिधिर्यतश्च प्रतिदानं तत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

11. The 5th case-affix (ablative) is employed after what soever is governed by a karmapravachanīya in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

Ex. अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna.' पानस्मैतिन्नेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति 'he exchanges māsḥās for this sesamum.' See I. 4. 92 for an explanation of प्रतिनिधि and प्रतिदान .

गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाच्चतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वर्थ-कर्मणि , द्वितीया-चतुर्थ्यौ , चेष्टायाम् , अनध्वनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां धातूनां चेष्टाक्रियाणां परिस्पन्दक्रियाणां कर्मणि कारकेऽध्ववर्जिते त्वीयाच्चतुर्थ्यौ भवतः

12. In the case of roots implying motion, the place o which motion is directed takes the affix of the 2nd Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case in denoting the object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object s not a word expressing 'road'.

Ex. ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' But not so in मनसा हं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' ध्वानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way'). But not in ओदनं पचति 'he cooks rice;' (the verb not denoting 'motion') nor in इवेन व्रजति (the verb not denoting 'the object.')

Note:—The word *adhvan* includes the synonyms of road (I. 1. 68) *पन्थानं गच्छति, मार्गं गच्छति.*

Note:—The prohibition applies with regard to the going over & occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the fourth case-affix will be employed as *पथे गच्छति.*

चतुर्थी संप्रदाने ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रदाने कारको चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्थी विधाने तार्द्ध्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृपिसंपद्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञाप्यमाने चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

13. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

Ex. *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* 'He gives a cow to the teacher' *देवदत्ताय रोचते* 'it pleases Devadatta' (I. 4. 33) *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* (I. 4. 36) 'he desires flowers.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof' as *वृषाय दारुः* 'wood is for making posts' *कुण्डलाय हिरण्यं* 'gold used for the purpose of making ear-ring,' *रन्ध्रनाय स्थानं* 'pot for the sake of cooking,' *अवहननाथोलूखलं* 'mortar for the sake of threshing.'

Vart:—The verb *कृव* and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for, result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case: as, *मूत्राय कल्यते यवामूः* 'the barley gruel tends to produce urine.' So also *मूत्राय संपद्यते जायते वा यवामूः*.

Vart:—The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as.

वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायाति लोहिनी ॥

पीता वर्षाय विज्ञेया दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भतेत् ॥

'The reddish lightening portends wind, extremely red indicates heat, yellow portends rain and white lightening prognosticates famine.'

Vart:—The fourth case-affix should be employed in connection with the word *हित*: as *गोभोहितं* 'good for cows.'

क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्यानिनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिया-अर्थोपपदस्य, च, कर्मणि, स्यानिनः, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च स्यानिनोऽप्रयुक्तमानस्य धातोः कर्मणि कारको चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

14. The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) therewith another verb, denoting an action, performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III. 3. 10).

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III. 3. 10,) is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.

फलैभ्यो व्रजति = फलान्यावर्तुं व्रजति 'he goes for fruits i. e., to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have एधेभ्यः व्रजति 'he goes for fuel.' The words क्रियार्थोपपदस्य and स्थानिन are in apposition. The first is a Bahuvrīhi compound of क्रियार्थ + उपपद and means 'a verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action (kriyârtha).' Thus in एभानाहर्तुम् 'to bring fuel'; the infinitive verb आहर्तुम् is क्रियार्थोपपद, the object of this verb is एभः; when this verb is suppressed, it becomes स्थानिनः; the object of this verb takes the fourth case-affix.

Why do we say 'of the verb whose upapada denotes the purpose of the action?' Observe वृष्टिं पिंडीम्.

Why do we say 'in denoting the object.' Witness एधेभ्यो व्रजति शकटेन for fuel he goes with a cart.

Why do we say 'when suppressed'? Observe एभानाहर्तुं व्रजति.

तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुम-अर्थात्, च भाव-वचनात्, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमर्थभाववचनप्रत्ययान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाच्चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

15. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' abstract noun, III. 3. 11.) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

Ex. यागाय व्रजति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं व्रजति. So also ागाय व्रजति, भूतये व्रजति.

The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्'.

नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलं वषट्-योगाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमः-स्वस्ति-स्वाहा-स्वधा-अलम्-वषट्-योगात्; च, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमः स्वस्ति स्वाहा स्वधा अलं वषट् इत्येतैर्योगे चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

16. The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with the words *namah* 'salutation,' *svast* 'peace,' *svâhâ*, *svâdhâ* (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), *alam* 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and *vashaṭ* a term of oblation.

Ex. *नमो देवेभ्यः*, *स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्यः*, *स्वाहाऽग्नये*, *स्वधा पितृभ्यः*, *अलं मल्लो मल्लो* 'Salutation to Gods'; 'peace to the people'; 'svâhâ to fire'; 'svâdhâ to the Pitris'; 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c. The word *अलं* includes its synonyms also, as *प्रभुः*, *शक्तः* &c.; so *वषण्डिन्नाय*, *वषडमयं*.

The च indicates that the Dative will debar Genitive, in spite of II. 73, in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as, *स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात्*.

सन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्य-कर्मणि अनादरे, विभाषा, अप्राणिषु, (चतुर्थी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थकर्मणि प्राणिवर्जिते विभाषा चतुर्थी विभक्तिर्भवति अनादरे गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यदेतदप्राणिष्विति तदनादादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb *manya* 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. *न त्वा तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee worth a straw.' *न सुसं बुसाय वा मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee worth a chaff.' Why do we use the word *मन्ये*? Observe *न त्वा तृणं चिन्तयामि*. The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb *मन्यति*. So also the sūtra uses the form *मन्य* with the vikarana *इषण्*, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi *मन्*; for the latter governs the accusative only, as *न त्वां तृणं मन्ये*.

When contempt is not meant, the verb does not govern the Dative as:—

अज्मानं दृषवं मन्ये, *मन्ये काष्ठमुलूखलम्* । *अन्धायास्तं सुतं मन्ये* यस्य माता न पश्यति

'I consider a rock to be a stone, I consider mortar but as wood. I consider him to be the son of a blind woman whose mother cannot see.'

So also when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as *न त्वां शृगालं मन्ये* 'I do not consider thee even as jackal.' The case of *न त्वां शूने मन्ये* is an exception.

Vart:—Instead of using *अप्राणिषु* in the sūtra, the word *अनादादिषु* should be used. The following words belong to Nāvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word *मन्ये*, never in the Dative:—*नौ* 'ship,' *काक* 'crow,' *आन्न* 'food,' *शुक* 'parrot,' and *शृगाल* 'jackal.'

कर्तृकरणयोः तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-करणयोः तृतीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तरि करणे च कारके तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तृतीया विधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

18. In denoting the agent (I. 4. 54) or the instrument (I. 4. 42), the third case-affix is employed.

Ex. देवदत्तेन कृतं 'done by Devadatta,' हात्रेण लुनाति 'he cuts with the sickle.' So also, यज्ञदत्तेन भुक्तम्, परशुना छिनत्ति ॥

Vart.—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पंचक and साहस्र as प्रायेण वार्तिकः, गार्ग्येऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण भावति, द्विद्रोणेन क्रीणाति &c.

सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहयुक्ते, अप्रधाने, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहायेन युक्तेऽप्रधाने तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

19. When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing.

Ex. पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son.'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह as, पुत्रेण साद्धे 'with the son.' So also when the word सह is understood, as Pāṇini himself uses in I. 2. 65 वृद्धो युना &c.,

Why do we say 'when not the principal.' Observe, शिष्येण त्रहोपाध्यायस्यगौः .

येनाङ्गविकारः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, अङ्ग-विकार, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लभ्यते तत्तत्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

20. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अङ्गा क्राणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंजः 'lame of foot.' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word aṅga in this sūtra applies to the whole body, whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is indicated here.

इत्थंभूतलक्षणे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूत-लक्षणे, (तृतीया) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कश्चित्प्रकारं प्राप्त इत्थंभूत, स्वरूपलक्षणमित्थं भूतलक्षणं, तत्तत्तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

kāraṇa and hetu. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or कौत प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति .

अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने , पञ्चमी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपादाने कारके पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पञ्चमीविधाने ल्यवृत्तेऽपि कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणे चोपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रभाख्यानयोश्च पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यतश्चाध्यकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्युक्तास्त्राज्ञे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अभवनः प्रथमा सप्तमी च वक्तव्या ॥

28. When the Apādāna-kāraka (I. 4. 24) is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद्वागच्छति 'he comes from the village' (I. 4. 24); वृक्षेभ्यो विभेति (I. 4. 25), अध्ययनात् पराजयते (I. 4. 26) &c.

Vart.—The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रसादनात् प्रेक्षते = प्रसादत् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

Vart.—And under similar circumstances in denoting the location the place where an action is performed is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a seat.'

Vart.—In questions and answers, the fifth case-affix is employed:—कृतो भवान्? पटलिपुत्राद् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Patali putra.'

Vart.—That point of time or space from which distance in time or space is measured is put in the ablative case:—१८. गयोधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि 'Sankāśya is from Gavīdhuma four yojanas.' कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika. The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case, as मासे .

Vart.—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्धु योजनेषु .

अन्यारादितरदिक्शब्दाञ्चत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अन्य-आरात्-इतर-ऋते-दिक्शब्द-अञ्च-उत्तरपद-आच्-आहियुक्ते , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्य आरात् इतर ऋते दिक्शब्द अञ्चत्तरपद आच् आहि इत्येतैर्योगे पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

29. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or rit 'without,' or words indicative of 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to and' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix h or âhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

Ex. अन्यो, भिन्नो, इतरो, अर्यान्तरं, विन्नक्षणो वा देवदत्तात् 'different from Devadatta' आराद् देवदत्तात् 'remote from or near to Devadatta.' The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 34, this enjoins 5th case-affix. ऋते देवदत्तात् 'excepting Devadatta.' पूर्वे ग्रामात् 'east of the village,' उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वे ग्रीष्मात् वसन्त. 'the spring is or to summer' प्राक् प्रत्यक्षा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village' दक्षिणा एहि वा ग्रामात् 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village'

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb añchu are also विकशब्दः ; in separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the 34th sūtra does not come after them.

**षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, अतसर्थ-
येन ॥**

वृत्तिः अतसर्थेन प्रत्ययेन युक्ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

30. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28).

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28.

Ex. ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि वा 'to the south or north, before, in or above the village.'

एनपा द्वितीया ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ एनपा, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एनवन्यतस्त्वामदूरे पञ्चम्या इति वक्ष्यति । तेन युक्ते द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

31. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

Ex. दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village.'

पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृथग्-
विना-नानाभिः , तृतीया , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पृथक् विना नाना इत्येतै र्योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

32. When joined with the words prithak 'without,' vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

Ex रामाद्रामेण रामं वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Râma.'

This sūtra may be divided into two parts:—(1) पृथग् विना नानाभिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् . By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वातं विना वर्षे विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्देषान् कोनेनो पानितौ द्रुमौ ॥

करणे च स्तोकात्पठच्छ कतिपयस्यात्त्ववचनस्य ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥
करणे , च , स्तोक-अल्प-कृच्छ-कतिपयस्य , असत्त्ववचनस्य , (तृतीया-
पञ्चमी-अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ स्तोक अल्प कृच्छ कतिपय इत्येतेभ्योऽसत्त्ववचनेभ्यः करणे कारकेऽन्यतरस्यां तृतीया भवति पञ्चे पञ्चम्येव ॥

33. When expressing an instrument-kâraka, optionally after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' krieh-chhra 'difficently,' and ka'ipaya 'some,' the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects.

Ex. स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्त. and अल्पान्मुक्तः or अल्पेनमुक्त &c. 'he got off easily &c. But स्तोकेन विषेन हत. , अल्पेन मधुना मत्तः &c. 'killed by a little poison.' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance. So also स्तोकां मुञ्चति 'he loosens a little.' Here स्तोक is used as an adverb and not as an instrument (करण) .

दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्याऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्ति-
क-अर्थैः , षष्ठी , अन्यतरस्याम् , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थे शब्दैर्योगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति अन्यतरस्यां पञ्चमी च ॥

34. When in conjunction with words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is optionally employed.

Ex. ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रवृत्तं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

The force of the word अन्यतरस्यां is to indicate that the 5th case-affix employed in the alternative, would have run into this sūtra, had we not used 'anyatarasyam.'

दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दूर-अन्तिक-
अर्थेभ्यः , द्वितीया , च , (पञ्चमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्पञ्चमी तृतीयापि समुदाह्रियते ॥

35. After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third.

Ex. दूरं दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात् , अन्तिकेन or अन्तिकं ग्रामस्य .

This rule applies only when these words have their original signification and do not denote a substance. Otherwise the proper case-affix should be employed, as दूरः पन्थाः , दूराय पथे देहि .

सप्तम्यधिकरणे , च , ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी , अधिकरणे ,
च , (दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवत्यधिकरणे कारके चकारा दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सप्तमीविधाने क्तत्वेन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ .

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारकार्हाणां चा कारकत्वे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तद्विपर्यासे च सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमित्तरत्नसंयोगे सप्तमी वक्तव्या ॥

36. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location (I. 4. 45) as well as after the words meaning 'distant' or 'near'.

Ex. कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' अन्तिके दूरे वा ग्रामस्य 'near or distant from the village.' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot.' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely the second, third, fifth and seventh.

Vart:—Words like अधीतिन् 'who has learnt,' गृहीतेन् 'who has comprehended,' i. e., words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त , govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in Grammar.' परिगणिती यज्ञिके 'well versed in sacrificial rites.' आह्वान्ती छन्दसि 'well read in the Veda.' See V. 2. 88.

Vart:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as मातरे साधुरसाधु वा 'well behaved or ill-behaved towards his mother.'

Vart:—The Locative absolute is used in cases other than those specified in the next sūtra, namely, in cases where the action done or suffered does not indicate the time of another action; as ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु हरिद्रा आसते 'the poor are sitting, while the rich are eating,' हरिद्रेषु आसानेषु ऋद्धा भुञ्जते 'the rich are eating, while the poor being seated.' So also *vice versa*.

Vart:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done; as.

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति , दंतयोर्हन्ति कुंजरम् ।

केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सोमि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य , च ,
भावेन, भाव-लक्षणम् , (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावः क्रिया । यस्य च भावेन यस्य च क्रिययाक्रियान्तरे नश्यते ततो भाववतः सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

37. By the action (bhava) of what-soever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is Locative Absolute. गोषु दृश्यमानासु गतः 'the cows being milked, he went away' दृग्भास्वागत. 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हुयमानेषु गतः , हुतेष्वागत. .

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जगन्निः स भुङ्क्ते . Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स देवदत्तः .

षष्ठी चानादरे ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी , च , अन्-अदरे ,
(सप्तमी , भावेन भावलक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनादराधिके भावलक्षणे भाववतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

38. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदतः रुदति वा प्रात्राजीन् 'in spite of her weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all,' &c., नन्दाः पशव इव हताः पश्यतो राक्षसस्य 'the

Nandas were killed like so many beasts, Rakshasa looking on,' (not-withstanding that Rakshasa was looking on).

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्वामिन्-ईश्वर-अधिपति-दायाद्-साक्षिन्-प्रतिभू-प्रसूतैः, च, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिन् ईश्वर अधिपति दायाद् साक्षिन् प्रतिभू प्रसूत इत्येतैर्योगे षष्ठी सप्तमी विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

39. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' îśvara 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dâyaâla 'an heir,' sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety,' and prasûta 'begotten.

गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows.' So also गवामधिपतिः or गोष्वधिपतिः, गवां दायाद् or गोषु दायाद्, गवां or गोषु प्राक्षी, प्रतिभू &c.

These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sâtra ordains Locative as well.

आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुक्त-
कुशलाभ्यां, च, असेवायाम्, (षष्ठी सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुक्तो व्यापारितः कुशलो निपुणः तभ्यां योगे आसेवायां गम्यमानायां षष्ठी सप्तम्यौ विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

40. In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skilful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

Ex. आयुक्तः कुशलो वा कटकरण कटकरणस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in mat-making'

When not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different; as आयुक्तो गौ शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart.' Here the seventh case-affix only is employed.

यतश्च निर्द्वारणम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, च, निर्द्वारणम्,
(षष्ठी-सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यतो निर्द्वारणं सतः षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ विभक्तौ भवतः ॥

41. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class).

Ex. गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीराः 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' मनुष्याणां or मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियः शूरतमः .

A nirdhāraṇa or specification is made by separating one from the many by reason of its genus, quality and action (II. 2. 10).

पञ्चमी विभक्ते ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चमी , विभक्ते , (यतय निर्द्धारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्निर्द्धारणाश्रये विभक्तमस्ति ततः पञ्चमी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥ विभागे विभक्तं ॥

42. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः सुकुमारतराः 'Mathura is more beautiful than Pāṭaliputra.'

साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधु-निपुणाभ्यां , अर्चायाम् , सप्तमी-अप्रतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधु निपुण इत्येताभ्यां योगेऽर्चायां गम्यमानायां सप्तमी विभक्तिर्भवति न चेत् , प्रतिः प्रयुज्यते ॥

43. In conjunction with the words sādhu 'good,' and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case-affix is employed; provided that the word prati is not used.

मातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother'? But साधुर्वेददत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्देवदत्तो 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

The exception applies not only to प्रति but to other prepositions, like परि , अनु &c., as, मातरं परि साधुर्वेददत्तः ॥

प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च , ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रसित-उत्सुकाभ्यां , तृतीया , च , (सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रसित उत्सुक इत्येताभ्यां योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवति चकारात्सप्तमी च ॥

44. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

Ex. निद्रायां निद्रया वा उत्सुकः 'longing for sleep.' कोशैः or कोशेषु प्रसितः

नक्षत्रे च लुपि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रे, च, लुपि, (तृतीया सप्तमी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबन्ताज्जत्रशब्दात् तृतीयासप्तम्यौ विभक्ती भवतः ॥

45. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Ex. पुष्येण पुष्ये वा वायसमक्षीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk.' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5. So also मघाभिः पञ्चलोदनं मघासु पञ्चलोदनम्. But not so here पञ्चालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchâla'. Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe मघासु महः 'the planet in the Maghâ.' Here there is no elision. But why not in अद्यपुष्यः, अद्यकुत्तिका. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥

प्रातिपदिक-अर्थ-लिङ्ग-परिमाण-वचन-मात्रे, प्रथमा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्रे परिमाणमात्रे वचनमात्रे प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

46. Where the sense is that of the Nominal-stem (I. 2. 45) or of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. उच्चैः 'aloft,' नीचैः 'below,' कुमारी 'virgin,' वृक्षः 'tree,' कूडं 'owl,' द्रोणः 'a measure'. By 'number' grammatical number is meant; as एकः 'one,' द्वौ 'two,' बहवः 'many'.

The sense of a Prâtipadika is to denote mere existence. Genders are three, masculine, feminine and neuter. Measures are such as dropa, khâri, âghaka &c.. Numbers are singular, dual and plural. The Nipatas which do not denote anything are also Prâtipadika.

संबोधने च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संबोधने, च (प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने च प्रथमा विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

47. And when the sense is that of addressing, the first case-affix is employed.

Ex. हे राम 'O Ram' हे रामौ, हे रामाः ॥

सामन्त्रितम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सामन्त्रितम् (संबोधने प्रथमा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तं शब्दरूपमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं भवति

48. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or vocative (VIII. 2.78).

एकवचनं संबुद्धिः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः, (आमन्त्रितम् प्रथम) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्संबुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

49. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

The vocative singular is called sambuddhi, when it is employed in the vocation. Thus VI. 1. 69 declares 'after an inflection base ending in एङ् or in a short vowel, a consonant is elided if it be that of Sambuddhi' as हे राम ॥

षष्ठी शेषे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मादिभ्योऽन्यः प्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिसंबन्धादिः शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

50. The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c. different from that of a word related to a verb and from that of a Nominal-stem.

Ex. राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beast's foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

ज्ञोविदर्थस्य करणे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञः, अविदर्थस्य, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरविदर्थस्याज्ञानार्थस्य करणे कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

51. Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice with honey'. So also सर्पिनो जानीते. The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of

'to act, or to engage in,' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिणि रक्तः प्रतिहतो वा . Compare I. 3. 45.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

अधीगर्थेददेशां कर्मणि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-इक्-अर्थे-दय-ईशां, कर्मणि , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधीगर्थः स्मरणार्थः । दय दानगतिरन्तर्गतेषु । ईशा ऐश्वर्ये । एतेषां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity,' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मातु अभ्यति 'he remembers the mother,' सर्पिषो दयते 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं गात्राणामोटे 'he can not rule his limbs.' But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुण here is not the object. The word शेष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed.

कृजः प्रतियत्ने ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः , प्रतियत्ने , (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेः कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते प्रतियत्ने गम्यमाने षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

53. The object of the verb kri takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

Ex. एधोवकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, स is inserted).

When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case-affix is employed: as कर्तं करोति .

The word शेष is also understood here. So that we have also एधोवकम्, पस्कुरुते ॥

रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुज-अर्थानां , भाववचनानाम् , अज्वरे , (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजार्थानां धातूनां भाववचनानां भावकर्तृकाणां डवरिवर्जितानां कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अडवरि संताप्योरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

Ex. चौरस्य रुजति रोगः 'the disease afflicts the thief' चौरस्यामयति आमयः ।

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूजति रुजते 'the river breaks the banks.' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ।

The word चौर is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजति रोगः ॥

आशिषि नाथः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, नाथः (कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथु नाथु याञ्चोपतापैस्त्वयाशीःषु पठ्यते, तस्याशीःक्रियस्य कर्मणि कारके शेषेन निवृत्तिते षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

55. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. मधुनो नाथते 'he blesses the honey.' But माणवकमुपनायति, अंग पुत्री-काधीश्च 'he solicits mānavaka saying (child) son, study.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

जासिनिप्रहणनाटकाथपिषां हिंसायाम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-काथ-पिषां, हिंसायाम्, (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जासि निप्रहण नाट काथ पिषु इत्येतेषां धातूनां हिंसा क्रियाणां कर्मणि कारके षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

56. The object of the verbs *jâsi* 'to strike'; 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *नि* and *प्र*, *nâṭ* to 'injure,' *krâth*, and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure', takes the sixth case-affix.

चौरस्य योज्जासयति, निहन्ति, निहन्ति, प्रहन्ति, प्रणिहन्ति, उज्जाटयति, काथयति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *जसु* belonging to the Churadi class should be taken, and not *Divâdi*. *हन* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रथ* takes in the causative *vridhhi* irregularly. This verb is *Bhvâdi* and falls into the subdivision *ghatâdi*, and is called there a *मिथ्* verb; all *मिथ्* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *णिच्* (VI. 4. 92). Thus *काथ* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानाः पिनष्टि 'he pounds the barley.'

The word शेष is also understood here as चौरमुज्जासयति . Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति , चौरं विहन्ति ॥

व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहृ-पणोः , समर्थयोः (कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृ पण इत्येतयोः समर्थयोः समानार्थयोः कर्मणि कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

57. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य व्यवहरति or पणते 'he deals in, or stakes hundred.'

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आच्? It takes आच् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Not so here शलाकां व्यवहरति 'he throws the dice,' ब्राह्मणान् पणायते 'he praises the Brahmanas.' The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते 'he stakes a hundred.'

दिवस्तदर्थस्य ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः , तदर्थस्य । (व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहृपणिसमानार्थस्य ईदृश्यतेः कर्मणि षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

58. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

Ex. शतस्य ईदृश्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' But not in ब्राह्मणं वीक्ष्यति 'he jokes with the Brahmana.'

The yoga vibhāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtras, in which the anuvṛitti of दिव runs, and not of others.

विभाषोपसर्ग ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , उपसर्ग , (दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं सति दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि कारको षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

59. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga (or preposition).

Ex. शतस्य शतं वा प्रति दीव्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.' But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As, शत्रूणां प्रति दीव्यति 'he throws the missile.'

**द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया , ब्राह्मणे , (द्वि-
स्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणविषये प्रयोगे दिवस्तदर्थस्य कर्मणि क्रारके द्वितीया विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

60. The object of the verb div when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the second case-affix in the Brahmana literature.

Ex. गामस्य तद्वहः सभायां दीव्येयुः (Maitr. S. 1. 6. 11) In the Vedic literature the simple verb div takes the accusative instead of the genitive. And with upasarga it is optional. The anuvṛitti of the word शेष does not extend to this sūtra, or the following.

**प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासंप्रदाने ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष्य-ब्रुवोः ,
हविषः , देवता-संप्रदाने (षष्ठी कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषः कर्मण षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति देवता संप्रदानेति ॥

61. The object of the verb preshya and brūhi (imperative singular of Divādi verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

Ex. अग्नये छागस्य हविषोवपाया मेदसोऽनुब्रूहि प्रेष्य वा 'send to fire as oblation, the goat, the fat, and the marrow.' But not here:—अग्नये छागं हविर्वपां मेदो जुहुवि . Because the verb is not preshya or brūhi. So also not here अग्नये गोमयान् प्रेष्य . Because it is not an oblation. Not here too माणवकाय पुरोडाशं प्रेष्य . Because the recipient is not a diety. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the word प्रस्थित 'set out' qualifies the word हविः as; इन्द्राग्निभ्यां छागं हविर्वपां मेदः प्रस्थितं प्रेष्य 'send to Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

**चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी-अर्थे , बहुलं ,
छन्दसि (षष्ठी) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति बहुलम् ॥

वार्तिकम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थी वक्तव्या ॥

62. In the chhandas the sixth case-affix is employed diversely with the force of the fourth case-affix.

Ex. पुरुषमृगश्चन्द्रमसः or चन्द्रमसे 'to the moon, a male deer.' गोधा कालका गौ घाटस्ते वनस्पतीनाम् or वनस्पतिभ्यः 'to you lords of the forest, are lizard, kálaka bird, &c. So also वायुरस्मा उपा मन्यत् (R. Ved. X. 136. 7).

Why do we say 'diversely?' Observe कृष्णोरात्र्यै, हिमवतो हस्ती .

Vart:—In the Veda, the 4th case-affix is employed in the sense of the sixth: as या खर्वेण पिबति तस्यै खर्वो जायते 'who soever woman drinks with a woman in her courses, gets herself in menstua. So also या दतो भावति तस्यै श्यावदन् 'who cleans her teeth, her teeth become black.' या नखानि कुन्तति तस्यै कुनखः 'who pairs her nails, her nails become ugly.' So on, in याङ्क्तेतस्यै काणः याङ्क्तेतस्यै धर्मा, या केशान् प्रलिखति तस्यै खलति ॥ अहल्यायै जारः (T. S. 2. 5. 1. 7).

यजेञ्च करणे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजेः, च, करणे, (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजेर्धातोः करणे कारके छन्दसि बहुलं षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

63. The sixth case-affix is diversely employed in the chhandas in denoting the instrument of the verb yaj 'to sacrifice.'

Ex. घृतस्य or घृतेन यजते 'he sacrifices with butter.' सोमस्य or सोमेन यजत ॥

कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्वो-अर्थप्रयोगे, काले, अधिकरणे (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्वोऽर्थानां प्रत्ययानां प्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

64. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (adhikarāṇa) after a word denoting time (kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

Ex. पंचकृत्वोऽङ्गो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats five times a day.' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the enitive of time in the sense of locative.' As द्विरङ्गोऽधीते 'he studies twice in day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe अङ्गि शेते 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, or expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुङ्क्तम्. Nor when the time is not meant, as द्विः कांस्यापात्रयो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is

not meant: as द्विरहो भुंक्ते . The शेष being understood we have द्विरहन्यधीते .

कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः , कृति
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

65. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III. 1. 93).

Ex. क्रियां कालिदासस्य 'the composition of Kalidāsa.' आहता क्रतूनां 'the per former of sacrifice.' So also भवतः श्रायिका 'your turn of lying down.' अपां वृष्टा पुरां भेत्ता वज्रस्य भर्ता . But not in शस्त्रेणभेत्ता 'cutting with weapon.'

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita-affix is employed as कृतपूर्वाकृतं . In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि ॥ ६६ ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ, कर्मणि, (कृति षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयोः प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन्कृति सोऽयमुभयप्राप्तिस्तत्रकर्मण्येव षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति न कर्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्राकारयोः स्त्री प्रत्यययोः प्रयोगे नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषे विभाषा ॥

66. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the words formed by kṛit-affixes, are both used in a sentence, in the object only, the sixth case-affix is employed, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

आश्वर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is wonder.' रोचते मे ओदनस्य भोजनं देवदत्तेन 'The eating of rice by Devadatt pleases me;' पयसः पानं यज्ञदत्तेन 'the drinking of milk by Yajñadatta.'

Vart:—'When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, when, as some say, the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender, or as others say, when the terminations are of any gender; as, विश्वित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा 'the dissertation on word by the āchārya' विश्वित्राहि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः or पाणिनिना 'beautiful is the structure of sūtra by Panini.' Apte.

कस्य च, वर्तमाने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, च, वर्तमाने (षष्ठी)

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य वर्तमानकालविहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नपुंसके भावउपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शेषविज्ञानात् सिद्धम् ॥

67. The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

Ex. राजां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' अहमेवमतो महीपते: 'I alone am regarded by the king.'

Why do we say 'क्त'? Observe ओदनं पचमानः 'rice is cooked.' Why do we say 'when denoting the present tense'? Observe ग्रामं गतः 'gone to the village.'

Vart:—When used as abstract neuter nouns, past participles are used with the genitive, as मयूरस्य नृत्यं 'the dancing of a peacock.' छात्रस्य हसितं 'the laughing of the students.' कोकिलस्य व्याहृतम् 'the screaming of the cuckoo.' When, however, agent is desired to be particularised, the instrumental case is employed: as छात्रेण हसितम् .

This sūtra debars sūtra 69 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

अधिकरणवाचिनश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणवाचिनः , च ; (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तोधिकरणे चेति वक्ष्यति तस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति ॥

68. The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishṭhā contained in II. 3. 69. As इवमेवामासितम् 'this is their seat.' इवमेवां शयितं 'this is their sleeping.'

In connection with verbs taking two objects, both take the genitive case, when a word ending in कृत-affix denotes the agent, as they would have taken the accusative: as, नेताश्वस्य ग्रामस्य चैत्रः 'Chaitra is the leader of the horse of the village.' When, however, one is the principal, then the object takes the genitive: as, नेताश्वस्य ग्रामं चैत्रः , 'Chaitra leads the horse to the village.'

न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थेतृनाम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल-उ-उक्-अव्यय-निष्ठा-खलर्थ-तृनाम् , (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल उ उक् अव्यय निष्ठा खलर्थे तृन् इत्येतेषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उक् प्रतिषेधे कर्मभाषायामप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्ययप्रतिषेधे तोसुक्कसुनोरप्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा वचनम् ॥

69. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle ending in the affix ल, or उ or उक्, or by an Indeclinable, or by a Past Participle in क्त and क्तवन्, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a Noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the Agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debar Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक् = ल + उक् = लोक .

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in शट्, शानच् (III. 2. 124), कानच् (III. 2. 106) क्मु (III. 2. 107) कि and किन् (III. 2. 172). Thus ओदनं पचन्, पचमानः, पचानः or पचिवान्, पपिः सोमम्, दधिर्गा ।

2. The affix उ is enjoined by III. 2. 168, as, कटं चिकीर्षुः, ओदनं बुभुक्षुः । The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III. 2. 136) is the governing term; as, कन्यामनंकरिष्णुः ॥

3. The affix उक् is ordained by III. 2. 154: as आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्त आहुः ॥

Vart:—But the word कामुक in secular Sanskrit, governs the Genitive as दास्याः कामुकः 'lusting for the slave.'

4. Indeclinables formed by कृन् affixes, as, कटं कृत्वा, ओदनं भुङ्क्ता ।

Vart:—This prohibition, however, does not apply to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III. 4. 16) and कसुन् (III. 4. 17), as, पुरा सूर्यस्योदन्तेराधेयः । पुरा क्रूरस्य बिलगे विरप्तिन् (I. 1. 40).

5. Nishṭhā i. e., क्त and क्तवन्; as ओदनं भुक्तवान् देवदत्तेन कृतम् .

6. The words formed by खल्य affixes (III. 3. 126), as, ईषत्करो भवता कटः, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता .

7. The हृन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the ह of शट् (III. 2. 129) and the final न् of हृन् (III. 2. 135), meaning the affixes शानच् (III. 2. 128), चानच् (III. 2. 129), शट् (III. 2. 130) and हृन् (III. 2. 135). As सोमं पचमानः, नटमात्रानः, अश्वीयन्, पारायणम्, कर्ता कटान्, वसिता जनापवादान् ।

Vart:—Optionally so, when the root द्विप् takes the affix शट्, as, चौरौ or चौरस्य द्विपन् ॥

अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्णयोः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक-इतोः । भविष्यद्-आधमर्णयोः (षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकस्य भविष्यति काले विहितस्येनस्तु भविष्यति आधमर्ण्यं च विहितस्य प्रयोगे षष्ठी विभक्तिर्न भवति ॥

70. The sixth case-affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity and indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as एवुन, वृञ् &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix इन् such as णिनि (III. 3. 3 and 170) denotes both. Thus कटं कारको ब्रजति 'he goes to make a mat.' ओदनं भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with इन्, as, ग्रामं गमी or गामी 'he has to go to the village.' शतं शयी 'he owes hundred.'

Why do we say 'when denoting futurity or indebtedness'? Observe यवानां लावकः 'the cutter of barley.' सक्तूनां पावकः, अवश्यं करी कटस्य ॥

Why is the Genitive employed in the following वर्षशतस्य पूरकः, पुत्रपौत्राणां दर्शकः? The words पूरक and दर्शक, though formed by अक (III. 1. 133), are not formed by that अक which denotes futurity, viz., III. 3. 10. The present sūtra relates to this latter अक, and not every अक in general.

कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्यानां, कर्त्तरि, वा,
(षष्ठी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानां प्रयोगे कर्त्तरि वा षष्ठी विभक्तिर्भवति, न कर्मणि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयप्राप्तौ कुर्ये षष्ठ्या प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

71. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kritya).

By II. 3. 65, verbal nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those verbal nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus भवतः or भवता कटः कर्त्तव्यः (III. 1. 95).

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent'? In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory. As गंघो मानवकः साम्नाम् ॥

Vart.—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कष्टव्या ग्रामं शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या ग्राममजा देवदत्तेन ॥

तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥
तुल्य-अर्थैः, अतुल-उपमाभ्यां, तृतीया, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यार्थैः शब्दैर्योगे तृतीया विभक्तिर्भवत्यन्यतरस्यां, पक्षे षष्ठी च, तुलोपमा शब्दौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

72. The third or the sixth case-affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance'; excepting तुला and उपमा .

Thus तुल्यो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य, सदृशो देवदत्तेन or देवदत्तस्य ॥ But with तुला and उपमा the Genitive must necessarily be employed. As तुला देवदत्तस्य गतिः, उपमा कृष्णस्य न विद्यते ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired.

On this sūtra, Professor Apte says:—‘Pāṇini says that the words तुला and उपमा can not be used with the Instrumental. But this is against good usage: as, तुलां यदारीहति वनवाससा (Kum. Sam. V. 24), नभसा तुलां समारूरोह (Raghu-ansha VIII. 15). स्फुटोपमं भूतिसिन्नेन शम्भुना (Māgh I. 4).’

चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥
तुर्थी, च, आशिषि, आयुष्य-मद्र-भद्र-कुशल-सुख-अर्थ-हितैः, (अन्यतर-
स्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायाम् आयुष्य मद्र भद्र कुशल सुख अर्थ हित इत्येतेषां चतुर्थी भक्तिर्भवति । चकारो विकल्पानुकर्षणार्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रायुष्यादीनां पर्यायग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

73. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha ‘long life,’ madra ‘joy,’ dhadra ‘good fortune,’ kuśala ‘welfare,’ sukha ‘happiness,’ artha ‘prosperity,’ and hita ‘good.’

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Vart:—In this sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं देवदत्ताय भूयात् or आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य भूयात् ॥ Similarly चिर-
वितं, मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, शं, अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पठ्यं देवदत्ताय or देवदत्तस्य
यात् ॥

Why do we say when ‘benediction is intended’? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तस्य: ‘the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.’ Here there is no option allowed: and the Genitive case is only employed.

ओ३म्

॥ द्वितीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IV.

द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगुः । एक-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुः समासः एकवचनं भवति ॥

1 The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. As, पञ्चगवं 'an aggregate of five cows,' पञ्चपत्नी (IV. 1. 21.). The sense of Dvigu being that of one, it follows that it retains the singular number even when further modified by other affixes, and used as an attributive and though no longer a Dvigu; as, पञ्चपत्नीयं शोभना ॥

द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वः , च, प्राणि-
तूर्य-सेना-अङ्गानाम् (एकवचनं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्यङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवचनं भवति, तथातूर्याङ्गानां सेनाङ्गानां च ॥

2. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, प्राणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोधीवं 'the head and neck' मण्डङ्गिक-
पाणयिकम् 'players on the mridaṅga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम्
'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' धीणावाहकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपादातम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29.)

In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional; (II. 4. 12.) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samâhâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14.) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12.) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva.

अनुवादे चरणानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुवादे, चरणानाम् ।
(द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, अनुवादे गम्यमाने ॥

बार्तेकम् ॥ स्थणोश्चवन्मां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and hence means such a person. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvâda.

This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इङ् only; as उदगात् कठकालापम् 'katha and kâlâpa arose (again, further demonstrating their doctrines)'; प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौथुमम् 'kaṭha and kauthuma established again.'

Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगुः कठकालापाः or प्रत्यष्टुः कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and इङ् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्विषुः कठकालापाः and उदयन्ति कठकालापाः.

Note:—This sūtra is translated thus by Mr. Iyengar, 'Aggregation alone is admissible between words denoting persons belonging to the different charaṇas of the Vedas, when they are used along with the aorist derived from the roots sthâ and iṅ, in the sense of recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt, as distinguished from learning them the first time.' Prof. Bobthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

अध्वर्युऋतुरनपुंसकम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्युः, ऋतुः, अ-नपुंस-
कम् । (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युऋतुवाचिनां शब्दानामनपुंसकलिङ्गानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

4. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided they are never used in the neuter gender.

As, अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices,' सायाह्नातिरात्रम् 'the Sâyâhna and Atirâtra sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' उद्भिद्यज्ञनिर्दो ॥

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेयो 'the Râjasûya and Vâjapeya sacrifices.'

Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासी? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifices in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paurṇamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकुष्टाख्यानाम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्ययनतः, अवि
प्रकुष्टाख्यानाम्, (द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्ययनेन निमित्तेन येषामविप्रकुष्टा प्रत्यासज्जा आहृता तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

5. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement; so also क्रमकर्त्तृचिह्नम्.

Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son,' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैद्याकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

जातिरप्राणिनाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिः, अप्राणिनाम्,
(द्वन्द्व, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति, प्राणिनो वर्जयित्वा ॥

6. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus **भाराशस्त्रि** 'the probe and the knife'; **धानाशष्कुलि** 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe **नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यं** 'Nandaka and Pāñchajanya.'

Why do we say 'not of living being'? See **ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियो** "Brāhmanas and the Kshatryias."

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (**द्रव्यजाति**) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (**गुणक्रियाजाति**). Thus **रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः** 'colour, savour, odour, and tangibility'; **गमनाकुञ्चनप्रसारणानि** 'going, contraction and expansion.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, **इह कुण्डे बदरामलकानि तिष्ठन्ति** 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.'

The words **जाति** 'genus,' **द्रव्य** 'substance,' **गुण** 'quality' and **क्रिया** 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशिष्ट-लिङ्गः, नदी, देशः, अग्रामाः, (द्वौए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विशिष्टलिङ्गानां भिन्नलिङ्गानां नदीवाचिनां शब्दानां देशवाचिनां च ग्रामवर्जितानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अग्रामा इत्यत्र नगराणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उभयतश्च ग्रामाणां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. A Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus **गंगाशोणम्** 'the Ganges and the Sona,' **कुरुवः + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रं** 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.' **उद्ध्यौरावती कुरुकुरु जाङ्गलम् ॥**

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe **गंगायमुने** 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna.' Both being feminine gender, so also **मद्रक्रेकयाः ॥**

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the pea-hen.'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ, Jāmbaba and Sālukinī which are the names of two villages or grāma.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलाशगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.'

Vart:—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्रं 'the cities of Mathura and Pāṭaliputra.'

Vart:—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवने 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्र-जन्तवः, (द्वन्द्व एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रजन्तु वाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

8. A Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus यूकालिन्तम् 'the louse and the nil'; इंशमशकम् 'the bug and the mosquito.' The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size; others say, all below the mongoose are kshudrajantu.

येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ येषां, च, विरोधः, शाश्वतिकः (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येषां शाश्वतिको विरोधस्तद्वाचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

9. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only among whom there is permanent enmity i. e., natural and eternal antipathy or quarrel, is singular.

The word विरोध means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, मार्जारभूषकम् 'the cat and the rat'; श्वशृगालम् 'the dog and the jackal'; भहिनकुलं. 'the snake and the mongoose.'

Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशानकायनाः कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.'

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even

if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus rule 12 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4, 2.) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as अश्वमहिषम्. 'the horse and the buffalo'; काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ शूद्राणाम्, अ-निरव-सितानाम्, (द्वन्द्वः, एकवचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिरवसितशूद्राचिनां शब्दानां द्वन्द्व एकवच्चवति ॥

10. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Sûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तत्तायस्करम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'; रजकतन्तुवाद्यम् 'the washerman and the weaver.'

The word अनिर्वासित means one not expelled (from the dish).

A Sûdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvâsita Sûdra.

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृगपा. 'the Chandâla and the Mritapa.'

गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवाश्व-प्रभृतीनि, (एक-वचनम्, द्वन्द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि कृतेकवद्भावानि द्वन्द्वरूपाणि साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

11. The word gavâśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also गवाविकम्.

गवाश्वविः

1. गवाश्वम्. 2. गवाविकम्. 3. गवैडकम्. 4. अजाविकम्. 5. अजैडकम्. 6. कुञ्जवामनम्. 7. कुञ्जकौरातकम्. 8. पुत्रपौत्रम्. 9. श्वचण्डालम्. 10. स्त्रीकुमारम्. 11. हातीमाणवकम्. 12. शाश्विच्छकम्. 13. उष्ट्रखरम्. 14. उष्ट्रशम्. 15. मूत्राकृत्. 16. मूत्रपुरीषम्. 17. यकृन्धेदः. 18. मांसशोणितम्. 19. दध्नीश्वरम्. 20. दध्नीपूतीकम्. 21. अर्जुनशरीषम्. 22. हृणोलयम्. 23. हासीहासम्. 24. कुटीकुरम्. 25. भगवतीभागवतम्.

Vart:—In this list, the forms as given, are singular; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ. In this form of गो and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वृक्ष-मृग-तृण-धान्य-व्यञ्जन-पशु-शकुनि-अश्ववडव-पूर्व-अपर-अधर-उत्तराणाम्, (दृ०ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त मृग तृण धान्य व्यञ्जन पशु शकुनि अश्ववडव पूर्वपर अधरोत्तर इत्येतेषां द्वन्वो विभाषकवद्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुभक्तिः फलसेना वनस्यातिमृगशकुनिशुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानाम् ॥

12. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of trees, wild animals, grass, corn, condiment, domestic beasts and birds, and the compounds aśva-vaḍava, purvā-para and adharottara, are optionally singular.

12 Thus, *प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधम्* or *प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधाः* 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees'; *रुरुवृषतम्* or *रुरुवृषताः* 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; *कुशकाशम्* or *कुशकाशाः* 'the Kuśa grass and the Kāśa grass', *ग्रीहियवम्* or *ग्रीहियवाः* 'the rice and the barley' *दधिघृतम्* or *ते* 'the curd and the butter' *गौमहिषम्* or *वाः* 'the cow and the buffalo'; *तित्तिरिक्पिञ्जलम्* or *ज्जाः* 'the Tittiri (a kind of partridge) and the Kapinjala birds', *अश्ववडवम्* or *वाः* 'the horse and the mare'; *पूर्वापरम्* or *रे* 'the first and the last'; *अधरोत्तरम्* or *रे* 'the upper and lower.'

Var.—The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of; that is when a large number of them is taken collectively, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as, *वदरामनके तिष्ठतः* 'a badari and an Amalaki fruit are here'; *यिकाशरोहौ* 'a charioteer and a horseman'; *प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोधौ* 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; *रुरुवृषते* 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; *हंसचक्राकौ* 'a Hansa and a Chakravaka bird'; *यूकान्निजे* 'a louse and a nit'; *ग्रीहियवौ* 'a brihi and yava grain'; *कुशकाशौ* 'the kuśa and kâśa grass.

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धं, च, अनधिकरण-वाचि, (विभाषा दृ०ए०क) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रतिषिद्धार्थानां शब्दानामनधिकरणवाचिनामप्रत्ययवाचिनां द्वन्वो एकवद्भवति विभाषानुर्कषणार्थं अकारः ॥

13. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

Thus *शीतोष्णम्* or *शीतोष्णे* 'cold and heat'; *सुखदुःखं* or *सुखदुःखे* 'pleasure and pain'; *जीवितमरणं* or *जीवितमरणे* 'life and death.'

The word *विप्रतिषिद्धं* means words of contrary significations. *च* indicates the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, कामक्रोधौ 'lust and anger,' which are not of contrary significations.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतांशु उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances.

न दधिपय आदीनि ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दधिपयः, आदीनि (द्वा० ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिपय आदीनि शब्दरूपाणि नैकवद्भवन्ति ॥

14. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayā &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी 'the clarified butter and the honey.'

With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number which previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी . 2. सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिणी . 3. ब्रह्मप्रजापती . 4. शिव-वैश्वर्णौ . 5. स्कन्द-वशाखौ . 6. परिव्राट्कौशिकौ . 7. प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ . 8. शुकृशृणौ . 9. इध्माचर्हिणी ॥ निगाननादीर्व. ॥ 10. शीत्तातपसी . 11. अद्घातपसी . 12. मेधातपसी . 13. अध्ययनतपसी . 14. उलूखलमुसले . 15. आद्यावसाने . 16. अद्घामेधे . 17. चक्रसामे . 18. शङ्खनसे .

अधिकरणैतावत्वे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरण-एतावत्वे, च, (न द्वा० ए०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणं वर्त्तिपरार्थः, स हि समासस्यार्थस्याधारः तस्यैतावत्त्वे परिमाणे गम्यमाने द्वन्द्वो नैकवद्भवति ॥

15. A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (ctavatva) of concrete things (adhikarāṇa) is not singular.

As, दश दन्तोष्ठाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; दशमार्दङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'ten sets of drum and panavika players.' Compare II. 4. 2.

विभाषा समीपे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा समीपे, (अधिकरणैतावत्वे, द्वन्द्वः एकवच०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य समीपे विभाषा द्वन्द्व एकवद्भवति ॥

16. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of concrete substances, is optionally singular.

As, उपदशं दन्तोष्ठं or उपदशा दन्तोष्ठाः 'nearly ten i. e., nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'; उपदशं मार्वङ्गिकपाणविकम् or उपदशा मार्वङ्गिकपाणविकाः 'nearly ten nine or eleven) mṛdaṅga and panava players.'

An indeclinable, when compounded with a numeral, may either be a Bahuvrīhi or an Avyayibhāva compound. When the compound is singular in form, it is Avyayibhāva, and when it takes proper number-terminations, it is Bahuvrīhi compound. As, उपदशं ; उपदशाः (II. 2. 25).

स नपुंसकम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, नपुंसकम् (एकवचनम्, द्वन्द्वः, द्विगुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्यायमेकवङ्गावो विहित स नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियां भाष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाऽऽवन्त. स्त्रियामिष्टः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नलोऽथ वा च द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पात्रादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

17. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules, is always a neuter gender.

As, दशगवम् 'an aggregate of ten cows,' पाणिपादम् 'hands and feet.' शरीरोवम् 'head and neck.'

This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चपुत्नी , दशरथी .

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word end-*य* in आप् affix, is optionally feminine ; as, पञ्चत्यङ्गम् or पञ्चत्यङ्गी .

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अन् , is optionally feminine and the न is elided ; as, पञ्चतक्षम् or पञ्चतक्षी ,

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c., पञ्चपात्रम् ; चतुर्गुग्म् ; त्रिभुवनम् .

अव्ययीभाषश्च ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययी भाषः , च , (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावश्च समासो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामङ्कः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथः संख्याव्ययादिः क्लीबतेष्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाविशेषणानां कर्मत्वं नपुंसकलिङ्गता च वक्तव्या ॥

18. An Avyayibhâva (II. 1. 6.) compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिलि 'pertaining to a woman'; so also, उपकुमारि, उन्मत्तगंगम् &c

But for this rule, an Avyayibhâva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

Vart:—Neuter gender is employed after the word अङ्ग preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन; as पुण्यहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word पथ is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya; as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्.

Vart:—Adverbs, qualifying verbs, are put in the neuter gender and accusative case; as मृदु पचति 'he cooks mildly,' शोभनं पचति 'he cooks well.'

तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, अनञ् कर्मधारयः (नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्समासं कर्मधारयं च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

19. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhârâya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat-purusha may be neuter. Thus, ब्राह्मणसेनम् or. ना (II. 4. 25); but दृढसेनो राजा (the compound not being Tat-purusha); असेना (it being a compound with नञ्=अ); and परमसेना (it being Karmadhârâya).

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, कन्था, उशीनरेषु, (तत्पुरुषः नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् कन्था उशीनरेषु भवति ॥

20.- When denoting an appellative, a Tat-purusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśînaras.

As, सौशमिकन्थम् 'the town of Sauśami'; आह्वरकन्थम् 'the town of Ahwara.'

When not an appellative, the form is different; as, वीरणकन्या . So also if the town is not in the country of the Uśīnaras; as दक्षिकन्या .

This debars the rule (II. 4. 25.) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

**उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञा-
उपक्रमं , तद्-आदि-आचिख्यासायाम् (तत्पुरुषः , नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति तदाद्याचिख्यासायां तयो-
रुपज्ञोपक्रमयोरितरेराचिख्यासायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

21. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work which is first invented or commenced.

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञमाकान्तापको व्याकरणम् 'the grammars Kalāpa &c., had their commencement with Pāṇini's invention'; व्याडुपज्ञं दुष्करणं 'Vyādi-invented Dushkarana'; आढ्योपक्रमं प्रासादः 'the palace is an invention of rich folks.' रन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि 'the measures are the invention of king Nanda.'

Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिश्लोकाः 'the slokas invented by Vālmiki.' N. P. Prof. Bohlingk gives पाणिन्युपज्ञमकान्तकं व्याकरणम् 'The Grammar omitting the time of day is the work invented by Pāṇini, (VI. 2. 14.)

**छाया बाहुल्ये ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छाया, बाहुल्ये , (तत्पुरुषः,
नपुंसकम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति बाहुल्ये गम्यमाने ॥

22. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyā 'shadow' is neuter in gender when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, शलभच्छायम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky.' इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade i. e., groves of sugarcane.' Otherwise, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of a wall.' (VI. 2. 14, accent.)

The sūtra 25 gives optional neuter; this rule enjoins invariable neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness.

सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभा, राजा-मनुष्यपूर्वा (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति, सा चेत् सभा राजपूर्वा मनुष्यपूर्वा भवति ॥

23. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court,' ईश्वरसभम् 'Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' the word is not neuter; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राज्ञा; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68.

So also रक्षसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisâchas.'

But in काष्ठसभा, देवदत्तसभा &c., the word is not neuter; for the word non-human has a technical significance meaning Râkshasa or a monster.

अशाला च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशाला, च, (तत्पुरुषनपुंसक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अशाला च या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

24. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम्, दासीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies and slaves;' otherwise अनाथसभा 'the poor-house.'

विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशनान् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सेना-सुरा-छाया-शाला-निशनान्, (नपुंसकं, तत्पुरुषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेना सुरा छाया शाला निशा इत्येवमन्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति विभाषा ॥

25. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' shâlâ 'house' and nishâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nân (II. 2. 6) and the karmadhâraya compound.

As ब्राह्मणसेना , ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' यवसुरम्, यवसुरा 'the barley wine,' कुड्यच्छायम्, कुड्यच्छाया 'the shadow of the wall,' गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house,' श्वनिशम्, श्वनिशा 'tomorrow night.' But असेना 'non-army,' कर्मसेना 'good army,' the former being negative and the latter karmadhāraya compound. For accent see VI. 2. 14, 123.

परवस्त्रिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परवत्-लिङ्गम्, द्वन्द्व-तत्पुरुषयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य यस्त्रिङ्गं तद्वति द्वन्द्वस्य तत्पुरुषस्य च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालपूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो धत्तव्यः ॥

26. The gender of Dvandva or Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction कृत्स्नयूयाविने 'those two (i.e.) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुङ्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in Tat-purusha compound not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्द्धपिप्पल्याः, अर्द्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali; अर्द्धकौशतकी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्रातः, आपन्न and, अलं, and (3) compounds with Gati words; as, पंचकपाजः 'Puroḍāsa prepared in five cups'; प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्त + जीविका) 'has obtained living,' आपन्नजीविकः, अलंजीविकः; निष्कौशाम्बिः 'gone beyond Kauśambi.

पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववद्, अश्व-वडवौ, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्ववडवयोः पूर्ववस्त्रिङ्गं भवति ॥

27. The gender of the compound of the word asva 'horse' and vaḍava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4. 2; in that case it will be neuter. अश्ववडवाविनौ; अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवैः &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्त-शिशिरौ, अहो-रात्रे, च, छन्दसि, (पूर्ववत्, लिङ्गम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरौ-अहोरात्रे इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये पूर्ववस्त्रिङ्गं भवति ॥

28. Of the compounds 'hemantaśīśirau' and 'ahoratre' the gender is like that of the first word; in the Chhandas. (vedas).

हेमन्तशिशिरावृतूनां ग्रीणामि, अहोरात्रे इदं ब्रूमः ॥

This aphorism debarb the general rule given in II. 4. 26.

This applies to these words in all cases and numbers, not being confined to them in the dual number, though exhibited in the sūtra in the dual number, as:—पूर्वपक्षाश्रितयः, अपरपक्षाः पुरीषम्, अहोरात्राणीष्टकाः 'The white fortnight is fuel-wood, the black fortnight is the dung-cake, and days and nights a bricks (of the altar of sacrifice).'

Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe वुखे हेमन्तशिशिरे, अहोरात्राणि पुण्यौ. In the Vedas the ordinary rules of gender are often set aside; this is an individual example of the universally exceptional nature of the Vedic language.

रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्र-अह्न-अहाः, पुंसि ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्र अह्न अह इत्येते पुंसि भाष्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुवाकादयः पुंसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. The Dvandva and Tatpurusha compounds ending with rātra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine.

These words refer to kṛit and Samāsānta affixes. Thus the word रात्रि is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V. 4. 87) अह्न is formed by V. 4. 88 and अह by V. 4. 91. The general rule II. 4. 26 also does not apply here.

द्विरात्रः, त्रिरात्रः 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon', द्व्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days.'

Vart:—The words अनुवाक &c., are masculine, as अनुवाकः, शयुवाकः सूक्तवाकः &c.,

अपथं नपुंसकम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपथम्, नपुंसकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपथ शब्दो नपुंसकलिङ्गो भवति ॥

30. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road' अपथानि गाहते मूढः 'the fool roams on wrong roads.' But अपथोदेशः a (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi the word is masculine so; also अपथा नगरी ॥

अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धर्चाः, पुंसि, च,
(नपुंसकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धर्चादयः शब्दा पुंसि नपुंसके च भाष्यन्ते ॥

31. The words 'ardharcha' &c., are spoken of in masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse', गोमयः and गोमयम् 'cow-dung,' these twofold genders sometime, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus पद्मः 'treasure,' पद्मः पद्मम् 'lotus', शंख 'treasure,' and शंखम् or शंखः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. सैन्यवः or सैन्यवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word qualifies. सारः 'best' सारं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम् .

1. अर्धर्चः. 2. गोमयः. 3. कषायः. 4. कार्षापणः. 5. कुतपः. 6. कुसपः. (कुणपः). 8. कपाटः. 9. शङ्खः. 10. गृध्रः. 11. यूथः. 12. ध्वजः. 13. कवचः. 14. पद्मः. 15. गृहः. 16. सरकः. 17. कसः. 18. द्विषः. 19. दृषः. 20. अन्धः. 21. दण्डः. 22. क्रमण्डलः. 23. मण्डः. 24. भूतः. 25. द्वीपः. 26. ह्यूनः. 27. चक्रः. 28. धर्मः. 29. कर्मन्. 30. मोदकः. 31. शतमानः. 32. यानः. 33. नखः. 34. नखरः. 35. चरणः. 36. पुच्छः. 37. साडमः. 38. हिमः. 39. रजतः. 40. सक्तः. 41. पिधानः. 42. सारः. 43. पात्रः. 44. पृतः. 45. सैन्यवः. 46. औषधः. 47. आदकः. 48. चषकः. 49. द्रोणः. 50. खलीनः. 51. पान्निवः. 52. बारवारणः. 53. बारवारणः. 54. प्रोथः. 55. कपित्थः. 56. शुष्कः. 57. शालः. 58. शीलः. 59. कः. 60. (शृङ्गः). 61. शीघ्रः. 52. कवचः. 63. रेणुः. 64. (जटनः). 65. कपटः. 66. पीकरः. 67. मुसलः. 68. सुवर्णः. 69. वर्णः. 70. पूर्वः. 71. ज्वमतः. 72. क्षीरः. 73. कर्षः. 74. आकाशः. 75. अष्टापदः. 76. मङ्गलः. 77. निधनः. 78. निर्यासः. 79. जृम्भः. 80. वृत्तः. 81. पुस्तः. 82. बुस्तः. 83. त्वेडितः. 84. शृङ्गः. 85. निगडः. 86. (खलः). 87. मूलकः. 88. मधुः. 89. मूलः. 90. स्थूलः. 91. शरावः. 92. बालः. 93. वपः. 94. विमानः. 95. मुखः. 96. प्रमीवः. 97. शूलः. 98. जः. 99. कटकः. 100. कण्टकः. 101. (कर्पटः). 102. शिखरः. 103. कल्कः. 104. (वरकलः). 105. नटमकः. 106. (नाटमस्तकः). 107. बलयः. 108. कुसुमः. 109. दणः. 110. पङ्कः. 111. कुण्डलः. 112. किरीटः. 113. (कुमुदः). 114. वृषः. 115. अङ्गुशः. 116. तिमिरः. 117. आश्रमः. 118. भूषणः. 119. इष्कसः. 120. (इष्वासः). 121. मुकुलः. 122. वसन्तः. 123. तटाकः. 124. (तडागः). 125. पिटकः. 126. विटङ्कः. 127. विडङ्गः. 128. पिण्याकः. 129. माषः. 130. शेषः. 131. फलकः. 132. विनः. 133. दैवतः. 134. पिनाकः. 135. समरः. 136. स्थाणुः. 137. अतीकः. 138. उग्रवासः. 139. शाकः. 140. कर्पातः. 141. वेगाजः. 142. चषालः. 143. (चखालः). 144. खण्डः. 145. हरः. 146. विटपः. 147. (रणः). 148. (बलः). 149. (मकः). 150. घृणालः. 151. हस्तः. 152. आर्द्रः.

153. हल . 154. (सूत्र .) 155. ताण्डव . 156. गाण्डीव . 157. मण्डप . 158. पट्ट . 159. सौध . 160. योध . 161. पार्श्व . 162. शरीर . 163. फा . 164. (छल . 165. पुर . 166. पुरा . 167. राष्ट्र . 168. अम्बर . 169. वि . 170. कट्टिम . 171. मण्डल . 172. (कुक्कुट .) 173. कुडप . 174. ककु . 175. खण्डन . 176. तोमर . 177. तोरण . 178. मञ्चक . 179. पञ्चक . 180. पुङ्ख . 181. मध्य . 182. (यान .) 183. छाल . 184. वल्मीक . 185. व . 186. वल्ल . 187. वसु . 188. देह . 189. उद्यान . 190. उद्योग . 191. स्ने . 192. स्तेन . 193. (स्तेन .) 194. (स्वर .) 195. संगम . 196. निष्क . 197. क्षेम . 198. शूक . 199. क्षत्र . 200. पवित्र . 201. (यौवन .) 202. (कलह . 203. मालक . 204. (पालक .) 205. मूषक . 206. (मण्डन .) 207. (वल्कल . 208. कुज . 209. (कुञ्ज .) 210. विहार . 211. लोहित . 212. (विषाण . 213. भवन . 214. अरण्य . 215. पुलन . 216. वृद्ध . 217. आसन . 218. ऐरावत . 219. शूर्प . 220. तीर्थ . 221. ज्योमन . 222. (लोमश .) 223. तमा . 224. लोह . 225. वण्डक . 226. शपथ . 227. प्रतिसर . 228. दारु . 229. धनुस् . 230. मान . 231. वर्चस्क . 232. कूच . 233. तण्डक . 234. म . 235. सहस्र . 236. ओदन . 237. प्रवज्ज . 238. शकट . 239. अपराङ्ग . 240. नीड . 241. शकल . 242. तण्डल ॥

इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽनुदात्त तृतीयादौ ॥ ३२ ॥ पद नि ॥ इदमः
अन्वादेशे , अण , अनुदात्तः तृतीयादौ ॥

वृत्ति . ॥ इदमोऽन्वादेश विषयस्यादेशो भः त्यनुदात्तस्य तृतीयादौ विभक्तौ परतः ॥

32. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of it re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvādeśa) there is the substitution of as which is anudatta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow

The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (Ādeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अण् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अण् replace the whole of इदम् by ५५ and not only the final म्. Anvādeśa means repeating in a second sentence with reference to the preceding in which it has already been used. Both pronouns, the antecedent and the subsequent, must refer to the same object. As, आभ्याम् छात्राभ्याम् रात्रिं राधिता , अथो आभ्यामहरप्यधीत 'These students studied in the night and they have read in the day also' The substitute अण् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

अस्मै छात्राय कम्बलं देहि, अथो अस्मै शाकटमपि देहि 'Give this student a blanket and give him also a cloth'. अस्य छात्रस्य शोभनं शीलम्, अथो अस्य प्रभूतं स्वम्, 'this student's conduct is excellent, and his wealth is great.'

So also when the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71) comes after the Pronominal as इमकाभ्यां छात्राभ्यां राशिरधीता, अथो आभ्यामहरण्यधीतम्.

The mere mentioning in a subsequent sentence is not anvādeśa: it is the employment again of what has been employed to direct one operation, to direct another operation. Therefore the rule does not apply here:—देवदत्तं भोजय, इमं च यज्ञदत्तम् 'feed Devadatta and this Yajñadatta.'

एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतद्, त्र-तसोः त्र-तसौ, च, अनुदात्तौ, (अन्वादेशे, अश्, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतसोऽन्वादेशविषयस्य अश्वदेशो भवति अनुदात्तस्त्रतसोः परतः ॥ तौ चापि तसवानुदात्तौ भवतः ॥

33. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V. 3. 10) and तस् (V. 3. 7) follow, and the affixes च and तस् are anudātta also (gravely accented.)

Thus अत्र 'here,' and अतस् 'hence' in the following:—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं सामः; अथो अत्र युक्ता अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village, happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छानाच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, यो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar.' By rule V. 3. 5 अश् is declared to be the substitute of तद्; its repetition here is to indicate that this अश् of anvādeśa is anudātta.

द्वितीयाटौस्त्वेनः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीया-टा-ओस्त्सु, एनः, इदम्, एतद्, अन्वादेशे, अनुदात्ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीया टा ओस् इत्येतेषु परत इदमेतदोरन्वादेशविषययोरेनशब्द आवेशो भवति नुदात्तः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. When an affix of the 2nd case or टा (Ins. ing.) or ओष् (Loc. dual) follows, एन which is anudātta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

The word इदम् is also understood in this sūtra though it was not so in the last. This skipping is technically called 'frog-leap.' Thus:—इदं or एतं छात्रोऽध्यापय, अथो एनं व्याकरणमप्यध्यापय 'teach this pupil Prosody, and teach him Grammar also.' अनेन or एतेन छात्रेण रात्रिरधीता 'अथो एनेनाहरप्यधीतम्' 'this pupil studied in the night and he studied in the day also.' अनयोः or एतयोः छात्रयोः शोभनं शीलम्, अथो एतयोः प्रभूतं रवं 'the family of these two students is respectable and their wealth is great.'

Vart:—The word एनत्, neuter and singular, is also used in anvādeśa: as, इदम् कुण्डमानय प्रक्षालयैनत् 'bring this bowl and wash it.' The above three Sūtras regulate the accent only of certain pronouns.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्ध-धातुके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तदाऽर्द्धधातुके वेदितव्यम् ॥

35. The clause 'when the affix is Ārdha-dhātuka' is understood in the following aphorisms up to aphorism 58 of this chapter.

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 42, 'that वध् is the substitute of हन् when लिङ् follows.' The words 'when the affix is Ārdhadhātuka' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The result will be that in the Ārdhadhātuka लिङ् namely the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive mood, हन् is replaced by वध्, but not so in the Sārvadhātuka लिङ् i. e., the Potential mood (विधिलिङ्). Thus, Benedictive वध्यात् 'may he kill'; but Potential हन्यात् let him kill.'

The word आर्द्धधातुके is in the 7th case; the force of this case-affix here is not that given in I. 1. 66. i. e., the sūtra does not mean 'when an Ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' But the 7th case has the force of indicating the subject, the meaning of the sūtra being 'when the subject is an Ārdhadhātuka affix.' The result of this explanation is, that the various substitutions enjoined hereafter should be made first, and then the respective affixes should be applied. Thus whenever we want to affix any Ārdhadhātuka-affix to अस् 'to be,' we must first substitute भू for it, and then take the proper Ārdhadhātuka-affix which would come with regard to भू. Thus we can apply यत् to भू by rule III 1. 97 which says: 'after verbs ending in vowels यत् is applied.' But this affix could never have been applied to अस् which ends in a consonant. Thus we have भव्यम्. So the substitution does not depend upon any particular affix, but Ārdhadhātuka-affixes as a class.

अदो जग्धिर्ह्यसि किति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, जग्धिः, ह्यप्-ति, किति, (आर्द्ध-धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असौ जग्धिरादेशो भवति ह्यपि परतः तकारादेशो च किति प्रत्यये ॥

36. The word जग्धि is the substitute of अद् 'to eat,' when the affix ह्यप् (VII.1.37) or an ârdhadhâtuka कित् affix beginning with त follows.

प्रजग्ध 'Having eaten.' (प्र + अद् + ह्यप् = प्र + जग्ध् + य). So also जग्ध 'eaten' (अद् + क्त = जग्ध् + त).

The इ in जग्धि is merely for the sake of articulation and is not an anubandha, otherwise there would have been the insertion of the nasal न (तुम्). So also the इ in वचि &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. But अद् + क्त = अन्नः 'food' is an irregularity.

The employment of ह्यप् in this sūtra indicates the existence of this Paribhāṣā. 'A bahiraṅga substitution of ह्यप् supersedes even antaraṅga rules.' Because in case this maxim did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ह्यप् which is taught in this sūtra, would follow already from the word किति (before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क') in this rule, i.e., जग्ध would (by maxim 'that which is bahiraṅga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is antaraṅga has taken effect') first be substituted for अद् before क्त and ह्यप् afterwards for क्त.

Why do we say 'before affixes beginning with त'? Observe भयते 'is eaten.'

Why do we say 'before affixes having indicatory क'? Observe भक्षयम्.

लुङ्सनोर्घस्लृ ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्-सनोः, घस्लृ (अदः, आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि सनि च परतोऽसौ घस्लृ आदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घस्लृभावेऽच्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

37. When luṅ (aorist) or san (desiderative) follows घस्लृ is the substitute of अद् 'to eat.'

अघसत्, अघसताम्, अघसन् 'he ate.' The लृ in घस्लृ is servile and indicates the substitution of अद् for लृ for the Aorist (III. 1. 55.) So also in desiderative, as, जिघस्तसि, जिघस्ततः जिघस्तन्ति 'wishes to eat.'

Vart:—The verb अद् is replaced by घस् when the affix अच् follows Thus प्र + अद् + अच् = घस् + अच् = प्रघसः 'voracious.'

घञपोश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-अपोः, च, (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ घञि अपि च परतोऽसौ घस्लृ आवेशो भवति ॥

38. And when the affix घञ् and अप् follow घस्लृ is the substitute of अद्.

घासः 'food, grass,' अद् + घञ् = घास + अ (III. 3. 19). प्रघसः 'voracity, प्र + भद् + अप् = प्र + घस .

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलं , छन्दसि , (अदः, घस्लृ, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलमदो घस्लृ आवेशो भवति ॥

39. In the chhandas (Vedas), घस्लृ is diversely substituted for अद्.

घस्ताञ्जनम् । सग्धिधमे । (Yajur Veda Vaj. S. XVIII. 9). Sometimes it does not take place ; as आतामघ मध्यतो मेद् उद्भूतम् .

The word बहुलं is used in this sūtra and the word अन्यतरस्याम् in the next. There is evidently difference between the senses of these words; otherwise Pāṇini would not have employed them in such juxtaposition, had they been synonymous. For then the anuvritti of बहुलं in the next sūtra would have been sufficient. The following verse indicates that difference.

कचित् प्रवृत्तिः कचिदप्रवृत्तिः , कचिद्विभाषा कचिदन्यत्वे ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य , चातुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

'Sometimes they are, where there is no express rule for their application; sometimes they are not applied, in spite of an express rule for their application; sometimes they are optionally employed or not, and sometimes there is some other result, licence permitted by the rule.' Thus in घस्ताम् there is not elision of the penultimate.

लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि , अन्यतरस्याम्, (अदः, घस्लृ, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतोऽसौ अन्यतरस्यां घस्लृ आवेशो भवति ॥

40. When लिट् (Perfect) follows घस्लृ is optionally the substitute of अद्.

जघास or आद् 'he ate,' जज्जतुः or आद्जतुः 'they two ate,' जज्जुः or आद्जुः 'they all ate.' The word जज्जतुः is thus formed:—घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI.

1. 8) = व + वस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = व + वस् + अतुः (VII. 4. 62) = ज + वस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 53) = ज + वस् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98.) = जत्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

वेजो वयिः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेजः, वयि, (लिट्यन्यतरस्यान्, आहुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेजो वयिरादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां लिटि परतः ॥

41. When लिट् follows, वयि is optionally the substitute of वेज् 'to weave.'

In the Perfect tense thus we have two roots: Let us first take वेज्. Then we have regularly वे + लिट् = वे + एल् = ववौ. The roots in ए, ऐ and ओ are treated like roots ending in आ thus:—

Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	} In this case samprasâraṇa ordained by VI. 1. 17 does not take place by VI. 1. 40.
1. ववौ	वविष	वविम	
2. वविथ or ववाथ, ववथुः	वव	ववुः	
3. ववौ	ववतुः	ववुः	

When however we take the base वय्, the इ being for the sake of articulation only, we have the following forms:—वय् + एल् = वय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 8) = उय् + वय् + अ (VI. 1. 17) = उवाय्; the य is not changed into इ by VI. 1. 38. In this dual we have वय् + अतुस् = उय् + अतुः (VI. 1. 15) = उ + उय् + अतुः (VII. 4. 60) = ऊयतुः. The affix अतुस् being कित् affix by rule I, 2. 5 there is samprasâraṇa before reduplication. Thus we have उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः. Further by rule VI. 1. 39 before कित् affixes व may be optionally substituted for य, i. e., ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः and ऊयुः or ऊवुः.

हनो बध लिङि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, बध, लिङि (आहुः धातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति लिङि परत आहुर्धातुके ॥

42. बध् is the substitute of हन् 'to kill,' when the ârdhadhâtuka लिङ् (Benedictive) follows.

बध्यात् 'may he kill,' बध्यास्ताम् 'may they two kill,' बध्यासुः 'may they all kill.'

The substitute बध ends with short अ, this अ is elided. This elision being like the original (sthânavat I. 1. 56), in forming the Aorist लुङ्, we have बध् + ० + ईत् = अबधीत्. Here zero being sthânavat prevents the vṛddhi of ब which otherwise would have taken place by VII. 2. 7.

लुङि च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङि; च (हृनो, वध, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि च परतो हृनो वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

43. And when लुङ् (Aorist) follows, वध् is the substitute of हन् .

अवधीत् 'he killed,' अवधीष्टाम् 'they all killed.' The division of this aphorism from the last sūtra (yoga-vibhāga) indicates that the next rule applies to Aorist only and not to Benedictive as well. There is no option in Benedictive Atmanepada.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्य-तरस्याम्, (हृनो, वध, लुङि, आः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु निरर्थे प्राप्ते विकल्प उच्यते । आत्मनेपदेषु परतो हृनो लुङ्यन्यतरस्यां वध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

44. When Atmanepada affixes follow, वध् is optionally the substitute of हन् in the लुङ् (Aorist).

Thus आवधिष्ट or आहत; आवधिषाताम् or आहसाताम्; आवधिषत or आहसत.

The verb हन् becomes Atmanepadi when preceded by आ (I. 3. 28). By sūtra I. 2. 14, the Aorist-affixes in the Atmanepada are कित् after हन् and by VI. 4. 37 the न is elided before कित् affixes, then by VIII. 2. 27 the स is elided. Thus आहन् + सिच् + त = आहत .

इणो गा लुङि ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, गा, लुङि, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणो गा इत्ययमादेशो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इण्विक् इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

45. गा is the substitute of the root इण् when लुङ् follows.

अगात् 'he went.' (II. 4. 77) अगाताम् 'they two went' अगुः 'they all went.' The repetition of the word लुङ् in this sūtra though its anuvṛtti was coming from the last aphorisms, indicates that there is, no option allowed even in the Atmanepada, गा being the invariable substitute in all the Padas. Thus अगाथि भवता 'you went.' The form अगात् is thus evolved अ + गा + सिच् + त् = अगात् (II. 4. 77.)

Vart:—गा is the substitute of इक् 'to remember' in the Aorist, as it is of इण्. Thus अभ्यगात् 'he remembered.' अभ्यागाताम्, अभ्यगुः. The root इक् belongs to Adādi class.

गौ गमिरबोधने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौ , गमिः , अबोधने ,
(इणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गौ परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

46. When the affix णि (Causal) follows, गमि is the substitute of इण् when the sense is not that of 'informing' but that of 'going.'

गमयति 'makes him go' गमयतः, गमयन्ति &c. But प्रत्याययति 'causes to believe.' अधिगमयति. The इ of गमि is for articulation. So also इक् to 'remember'; as, अधिगमयति ॥

सनि च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनि , च , (इणः , अबोधने ,
गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनि परत इणोऽबोधनार्थस्य गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

47. And when सन् (Desiderative) follows, गमि is the substitute of ए when the sense is not that of 'informing.'

जिगमिषति 'wishes to go' जिगमिषतः, जिगमिषन्ति. But अर्थान् प्रतीक्षति 'he wishes to inform the meaning.' So also with इक्, as अधिजिगमिषति. The yoga-vibhāga indicates that the anuvṛitti of सन् only runs in the next sūtra and not of णि. The form is thus evolved in the Parasmaipada; गम् + सन् = गम् + गम् + स (VI. 1. 9) = ग + गम् + स (VII. 4. 60) = ज + गम् + स (VII. 4. 62) = ज + गम् + इट + स (VII. 2. 50) = जिगमिष, and then we add the personal terminations.

इङ्क्ष ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्क्षः , च , (सनि , गमिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङ्क्ष सनि परतो गमिरादेशो भवति ॥

48. And of इङ् 'to study,' गमि is the substitute when सन् follows.

अधिजिगांसते , ० सेते , ० सन्ते 'he wishes to study.' The root इङ् is always preceded by the preposition अधि. This will be Atmanepadi by I. 3. 12 and I. 1. 56. The form is similarly evolved by the application of rules VII. 2. 58, and VI. 4. 16.

गाङ् लिटि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ् , लिटि , (इङ्क्षः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्क्षो भवतीति लिटि परतः ॥

49. गाम् is the substitute of इङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The substitute being like its original (I. 1. 68.) गाम् would have been Atmanepadi, even without the indicatory, ङ. Why has then this ङ been added to it? The object is that in the sūtra I. 2. 1. गाम् there should mean this substitute गाम् and not the verb गाम् 'to go.'

Thus we get अधिजगो 'he studied'. अधिजगते, अधिजगिरे. See VI. 4. 64 and III. 4. 8.

बिभाषा लुङ्लृङोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ बिभाषा, लुङ्लृङोः (ङङः, चि, गाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङि लृङि च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

50. गाम् is optionally the substitute of इङ् when लुङ् (Aorist) and लृङ् (Conditional Future) follow.

Let us take the case when गाम् replaces इङ्. The affixes of लुङ् and लृङ् are treated as ङित् by I. 2. 1. and then by the Rule VI. 4. 66 (When an Ārdhadhātuka affix, beginning with a consonant and distinguished by an indicatory क or ङ follows; then let ई be the substitute of long आ of the verbs termed चु and of मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा, सी), we get अध्यगीष्ट (अधि+अ+गी+स्त), अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत. In the alternative we have अध्येष्ट, अध्येषाताम् and अध्येषत.

So also in लृङ्; as अध्यगीष्यत, अध्यगीष्येताम्, अध्यगीष्यन्त, or in the alternative, अध्येष्यत, अध्येष्येताम् and अध्येष्यन्त.

णौ च संश्चङो, ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्-चङो, (ङङः, गाम्, विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ सन्परे चङ् परे च परत इङो विभाषा गाङादेशो भवति ॥

51. गाम् is optionally the substitute of इङ् in the causative णि, when that causative takes the affix san (desiderative) and chañ (Aorist).

अधिजिगापयिषति or अध्यापिपयिषति 'he desires to teach.' The form is thus evolved: गा + णिच् = गापि (VII. 3. 36); then by the rules already stated, we get the above form with the affix सन्. अध्यजीगपत् or अध्यापिपत् 'he taught.' The ई is changed into आ by VI. 1. 48. Thus इ + णिच् = आ + णिच् = आ + प + इ = आपि. This rule applies to the desideratives of causatives and aorist of causatives.

अस्तेभूः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तेः, भूः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तेर्धातोर्भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

52. भू is the substitute of the verb अस् 'to be,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

भविता 'he will be,' भवितुम् 'in order to be,' भवितव्यम् 'must be.' Now the Perfect tense affixes are also ârdhadhâtuka affixes (III. 4. 115). The Perfect of अस् is therefore the same as that of भू, namely, बभूव &c. There is, however, an important exception to this rule, namely, when अस् is employed as an auxiliary verb in forming Periphrastic Perfect of other verbs. In that case अस् forms its Perfect tense regularly, आस, आसतुः, आसुः &c. This apparent breach of the present sâtra is explained by taking the term कृञ् in III. 1. 40. as a Pratyâhâra including कृ, भू and अस्, and if अस् could not form its Perfect in the regular way, its inclusion in this Pratyâhâra would be useless; hence we conclude, that as an auxiliary verb, अस् forms its Perfect regularly.

ब्रुवो वचिः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, वचिः, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवो वचिरादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके विषये ॥

53. वचि is the substitute of ब्रू 'to speak' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

वक्ता 'he will speak,' वक्तुम् 'in order to speak.' The इ of वचि is for the sake of articulation only. The substitute being like the principal, वच् is Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, as ऊचे 'he spoke,' वक्ष्यते 'he will speak.'

चक्षिङः ख्याञ् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चक्षिङः, ख्याञ्, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चक्षिङ् ख्यामादेशो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खशाविरप्ययमादेश इत्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्जने प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असनयोश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुजं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. ख्याञ् is the substitute of चक्षिङ् 'to perceive, to tell,' when any ârdhadhâtuka affix is to be applied.

आख्याता 'he will perceive or tell'; आख्यातुम् 'in order to tell'; आख्यातव्यम् 'must be told.' The substitute being like the principal, चक्षिङ् being always Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12), ख्याञ् would have also been always Atmanepadi. But in that case the letter ञ् would have no scope; it therefore follows that ख्याञ् is not always Atmanepadi, but under conditions mentioned in I. 3. 72.

Vart:—This substitute is also said to begin with कृष् instead of ख्य . Thus आकृशाता , भाकृशातुम् , भाकृशातव्यं .

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when meaning 'exclusion' ; as दुर्जनाः संख्ययाः 'bad men should be excluded.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the affixes अस and अन follow: as नृचक्षा राक्षसाः 'the Rākshasas are cruel.' This is Vedic Sanskrit ; modern नृचक्षः . The meaning of the root चक्ष् here, is 'to injure.' So also विचक्षणः परिदत्तः . here the affix is अन .

Vart:—Substitutes are made diversely in denoting appellatives and not qualities and in the Vedic Sanskrit; as अन्नम् 'food' (here the substitute जग्नि does not replace अन्न); वधकम् 'killer' (वध being substituted for हन् before एबुन्); गात्रं 'body' (गा is substituted for इण before the unādi affix टन्); विचक्षणः (here चक्ष is not replaced by ख्या before अन); अन्निरम् 'a court yard' (here अन्न is not replaced by व्यै as the next sūtra 56 requires).

वा लिटि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, लिटि, (चक्षिङ्, ख्याञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतश्चक्षिङः ख्याञ्चादेशो वा भवति ॥

55. ख्याञ् is optionally the substitute of चक्षिङ् when लिट् (Perfect) follows.

The जिङ् also is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and by the last sūtra ख्या would always have been the substitute of चक्ष्; the present sūtra makes this substitution optional, as आचख्यौ , आचख्यत् , and आचख्यः . In the alternative we have आचचक्षे , आचचक्षते and आचचक्षिरे ; 'he told &c.'

अजेर्व्यघञपोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजेः, वी, अघञ्-अपोः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजेर्धातोर्वात्ययमादेशो भवत्यार्द्धधातुके परतो घञपो वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञपोः प्रतिषेधे कथप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वज्रादावार्द्धधातुके विकल्प इत्येते ॥

56. वी is the substitute of the verb अज् 'to drive,' 'to lead,' when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows, with the exception of the affixes घञ् (III. 3. 18.) and अप् (III. 3. 69).

प्रनायकः 'driver,' प्रवायणीयः .

Why do we say 'with the exception of घञ् and अप्'? Observe सद् + अज् + घञ् = समाजः 'society'; उद्गजः 'driving out': So also with अप्, as समजः 'a multitude or herd of animals &c.' उद्गजः 'driving out of cattle.' See III. 3. 69.

Why have we used वी with a long ई? For the sake of forms like प्रवीतः &c.

Vart:—Prohibition must also be stated (along with चञ् and अच्) of the affix क्यप् , as समडया 'a meeting, fame.'

Vart:—The substitution is optional before Ārdhadhātukas beginning with a letter of वल् Pratyāhāra (all consonant except य) as प्रवेता or प्राजिता प्रवेतुम् or प्राजितुम् . See VI. 2. 144 for accent.

वा यौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, यौ, (अजे: वी, आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यौ परभूते अजेर्वा वी इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

57. वी is optionally the substitute of अञ् when the affix यु (III. 3. 15 &c.) follows.

This declares an option in case of the affix ल्युट् , the word यु in the Sūtra referring to this affix ; as, प्रवयणः or प्राजनी इण्डः 'driving stick or whip.'

ययस्रिपार्षजितो यूनि लुगणिजो ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यय-स्रिप-
आर्ष-जितः, यूनि, लुग्, अण्-इजोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयान्तात् क्षत्रियगोत्रात् भार्पादमित्थ परयोरणिओर्यूनि लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्राक्षरागोत्रमात्रा युवप्रत्ययस्थोपसंख्यानम् ॥

58. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi (seer), and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative च् , the affix अण् and इञ् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163) descendants, are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by sūtra IV. 1. 151 (the affix एय comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendent) we get कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendent than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य + इञ् (IV. 1. 95). Now this इञ् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) descendent of Kuru. So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Now it may be objected : 'the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV. 1. 154, it will take the affix फिञ् . Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणिः (VII. 1. 2.)' To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding एय under rule IV. 1. 151; that Tikādi word is formed by एय under rule IV. 1. 172, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendent of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114. which tells us that 'the affix **अण्** may be added to the words which are the names of Rishis, or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishinis or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **इवफल्कः** is a person of that family. Then **इवफल्क + अण् = इवाफल्कः** 'a descendent of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendent. In forming Yuvan descendent we have **इवाफल्क + इञ्**. Now this **इञ्** must be elided by the present sūtra. So that **इवाफल्कः** means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishis family. The sūtra last mentioned IV. 1. 114. will also hold here. We take the word **वासिष्ठः**; and **वासिष्ठ + अण् = वासिष्ठः**; the Yuvan affix **इञ्** will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word **वासिष्ठः** means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory **ञ**. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104. declares 'the affix **अञ्** comes after the words **विद्** &c., in denoting Gotra descendents.' Thus **विद् + अञ् = वैद्**; Then add **इञ्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वैद् + इञ्**. By the present rule this **इञ्** is elided and thus we have **वैद्**: both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इञ्**. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्**. Now rule IV. 1. 154 says 'the affix **फिञ्** comes after the words **तिक्** &c., in denoting descendent.' Thus **तिक + फिञ् = तैकायनिः** (VII. 1. 2.) Then to form the Yuvan descendent we add **अण्** by IV. 1. 83. Thus **तैकायनि + अण्**. By the present sūtra, this **अण्** is elided, and we have **तैकायनिः** both applicable to the father and the son. Other examples can be multiplied.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 says:— 'The affix **अण्** comes after **शिव** &c., in forming Gotra.' **कौहड + अण् = कौहड** Now this is neither a word formed by **एय** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having **ञ** goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix **इञ्** will not be elided after this. Thus **कौहड + इञ्** (IV. 1. 95) **कौहडिः** 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendent is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendent will not be elided. Thus the pupils of **वामरथ्य** are called **वामरथ्याः** which word is thus formed: **वामरथ + एय = वामरथ्यः** 'a descendent of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115). Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV. 2. 111. Thus **वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः** 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इञ्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan

descendent of शक्ति (grandson of शक्त) will be शक्तायणः. Here the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) is not elided.

Vart:—All Yuvan affixes are elided after Gotra words not denoting Brahmin Gotras; as वौषिः applies equally to father and son; नाबालिः father, जाबालिः son; औदुम्बरिः father, औदुम्बरिः son; भाण्डीजद्विः father, भाण्डीजद्विः son. Here, first इञ् is added by IV. 1. 173, then फक् to denote Yuvan descendent. Then this फक् is elided by the present Vartika.

पैलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पैल-आदिभ्यः, च (युनि, लुग-णिजोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पैल इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

59. And after the words पैल &c. there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अण = पैलः (IV. 1. 118). 'The Gotra descendent of Paila.' पैलः + फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word. Some say that the 'Paila &c. words are formed by the affix इञ्; (IV. 1. 95) and then the 'luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 60. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prachyas not being indicated.

1. पैल . 2. शालङ्कि . 3. सारथकि . 4. सारथकामि . 5. राहवि . 6. रावणि . 7. औदुम्बि . 8. औदुम्बजि . 9. औदुमेपि . 10. औदुमयजि . 11. औदुमजि . 12. औदुमृजि . 13. वैवस्यानि . 14. पैङ्गलायनी . 15. राहक्षति . 16. भौजिङ्गि . 17. राणि . 18. ओहन्वि . 19. ओह्राहमानि . 20. भौजिहान . 21. औदुशुद्धि . 22. पद्मनाच्चाणः . 23. तद्ग्राज .

इञः प्राचाम् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, प्राचाम्, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तायुवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

60. After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prachya (Eastern) is denoted.

पान्नागर + इञ् = पान्नागारिः 'the Gotra descendent of Pannāgara'; after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारिः is both the father and the son. So मान्यदैपणिः father and son. The word प्राचाम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood and does not show that it is an optional rule in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. When the Gotra of Prachyas is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus शक्तिः and शक्तायणः 'son of Dakshi.'

न तौल्वलिभ्यः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तौल्वलिभ्यः, (युनि, लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य न लुग् भवति ॥

61. After the words तौल्वलि and the rest there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix.

तौल्वलिः is the name of the father and तौल्वलायनः is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV. 1. 101).

1. तौल्वलि . 2. धारणि . 3. पारणि . 4. रावणि . 5. हेन्नीपि . 6. हेवति . 7. वार्कोलि . 8. नैवति . 9. नैवकि . 10. हेवमिनि . 11. हेवमति . 12. हेववति . 13. चाफहकि . 14. वेल्वकि . 15. बैकि . 16. बैङ्गु . 17. आनुहारति . 18. आनुराहति . 19. पौष्करसाहि . 20. आनुरोहति . 21. आनुति . 22. प्रावोहति . 23. नैमिनि . 24. प्राडाहति . 25. बान्धकि . 26. वैरीति . 27. आसिनसि . 28. आहसि . 29. आधुरि . 30. नैमि . 31. आसिबन्धकि . 32. पौष्पि . 33. कारेणुपनि . 34. बैकर्णि . 35. बैरकि . 36. बैहति ॥

तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्राजस्य, बहुषु, तेन-एव, अस्त्रियाम्, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्राजसंज्ञस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्य अस्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति, तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

62. There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that the plural number is taken by the base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that the base is not used in the feminine.

आङ्गः = अंग + अण् (IV. 1. 170) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural अङ्गः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vriddhih vanishes with it too (I. 1.63); but आङ्ग्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga.' But प्रियवाङ्गः 'he to [whom the prince of Vāṅga is beloved]' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vāṅga,' there being no elision.

यस्कदिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्क-आदिभ्यः, गोत्रे, (बहुषु, तेनैवास्त्रियाम्, लुग्)

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्क इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्त्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति तेनैव चेद्गोत्रप्रत्ययेन कृतं बहुत्वं भवति ॥

63. After the word यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and

not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural; but not in the feminine.

यस्क + अण् = यास्कः 'a descendent of Yaska not nearer than grandson.' In the plural, the affix is elided and the form is यस्काः 'the descendents of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क . 2. लघ . 3. द्रुह्य . 4. अयस्थूण . 5. अयः स्थूण . 6. तृणकर्ण .
7. सशमत् . 8. कम्बलहार . 9. बहिर्याग . 10. कर्णादिक . 11. पर्णादिक . 12. पिण्डी
- जङ्घ . 13. वकसरथ . 14. वकसक्थ . 15. विश्रि . 16. कुद्रि . 17. अजबस्ति . 18.
- मित्रय . 19. रत्नोमुख . 20. जङ्घारथ . 21. उस्कास . 22. वटुक . 23. मथक . 24.
- मन्थक . 25. पुष्करद् . 26. पुष्करसद् . 27. विषपुट . 28. उपरिमेखल . 29. क्रोष्टुकमान .
30. क्रोष्टुमान . 31. क्रोष्टुपाद् . 32. क्रोष्टुमाय . 33. शीर्षमाय . 34. श्वरप . 35. पक्क .
36. वपुक् . 37. भलन्द् . 38. भडिल . 39. भण्डिल . 40. भडित . 41. भण्डिल .

यज्जोश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-अजोः, च, (बहुषु, तेनैवालुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजोऽजश्च गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु वर्तमानस्यास्त्रीलिङ्गस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यज्जादीनामेकद्वयोर्वा तत्पुरुषे षष्ठ्या उपसंख्यानम् ॥

64. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यज् (IV. I. 105) and अज् (IV. I. 104.) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural but not in the feminine.

गर्ग + यज् = गार्ग्यः; plural गर्गाः 'the male descendents of Garga'. So also वत्साः 'the male descendents of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः. Similarly, बिद् + अज् = बैद्ः (IV. I. 104); plural बिदाः and not जैदाः; similarly और्व singular; और्वाः plural.

But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved'; प्रियबैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved.'

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः, बैद्य, feminine plurals.

Of course these affixes must be Gotra or patronymic affixes, otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप + यज् = द्वैष्यः 'living on the island,' plural द्वैष्याः; here the affix यज् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स + अज् = औत्सः 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः.

Vart:—In forming Tat-purusha compound of the singular and dual genitive, the affix यज् and अज् are optionally elided. Thus गार्ग्यस्य कुलं = गार्ग्य-कुलं or गार्ग्यकुलं, गार्ग्ययोः कुलं = गार्ग्यकुल or गर्ग्यकुलं.

Similarly वैदस्य or वैदयोः कुलं = वैदकुलं or विदकुलं .

Why do we say 'the affixes यञ् or अञ् '? Because other affixes will not be elided in forming तत्पुरुष compound; such as आङ्गकुलं ।

Why do we say 'singular or dual '? Because in the plural तत्पुरुष compound these affixes must necessarily be elided and not optionally; thus गर्गाणां कुलं = गर्गकुलं .

Why do we say 'in forming तत्पुरुष compound'? Because in forming other compounds, these affixes will not be elided. Thus, उपगार्ग्ये which is an अव्ययीभाव compound, meaning गार्ग्यस्य समीपं . Of course, it is only in the Genitive तत्पुरुष that this rule is applicable; it will not therefore apply in कर्मधारय तत्पुरुष &c., as परमगार्ग्यः ।

अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्रि-भृगु-कुत्स-वसिष्ठ-गोतम-अङ्गिरोभ्यः, च, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्र्यादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

65. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतमाङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in feminine.

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + ढक् IV. 1. 122.) the descendent of अत्रि, is अत्रेयः; the regular plural of अत्रि. So also, singular भार्गवः, plural भृगवः; singular कौरवः, plural कुत्साः; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमाः, अङ्गिरसः. In all these the affix has been elided. Thus भृगु + अण् = भार्गवः 'the descendent of Bhrigu. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ढक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयौ भार्गवौ; plural आत्रेयः, भृगवः &c.

But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ।

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus:—आत्रेय्यस्त्रियः ।

बह्वच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः, इजः प्राच्य-भरतेषु, (बहुषु लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच प्रातिपदिकाद् य इज विहितः प्राच्यगोत्रे भरतगोत्रे च वर्तते तस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

66. There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इज (IV. 1. 95) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पञ्जागारिः is पञ्जागारः, there being elision of इङ्; so also मंथ-
हृषणाः plural of मान्धरैषणिः; so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरिः is युधिष्ठिराः 'the descendents
of Yudhishtira. But वैकिः and पौष्पः not being polysyllabic, their plural will
be वैक्यः and पौष्यः.

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'
as'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will
not be elided. Thus बान्नाक्यः plural of बान्नाकिः, हस्तिराज्यः plural of हस्तिराजिः.

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas, its specification here is to indicate
that, wherever 'Prâchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in
V. 4. 60. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनः
lather, आर्जुनायनः son.

न गोपवनादिभ्यः ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गोप-वन-आदिभ्यः (लुग्), ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपवनादिभ्यः परस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग् न भवति ॥

67. After the words गोपवन, &c., there is not
luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes
the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64. Thus गोपवन + अङ् = गोपवनः,
plural गोपवनाः; singular शैमवः, plural शैमवाः. The गोपवन &c. belong to Vidâdi
class, vide IV. 1. 104, and are the following:—गोपवन, शिमु, बिन्दु, भजन्, अश्व,
अवतान, श्यामक and श्वायर्ण. The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not
be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be
elided in the plural by Rule 64. Thus हरिताः किंशसाः &c.

तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिक-कितव-आदिभ्यः,
द्वन्द्वे, (बहुलुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिकादिभ्यः कितवादिभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वे गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति ॥

68. After the words तिक कितव &c. when used as
Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra
affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिक + किङ् = तैकायनि (IV. 1. 154). Its plural is तैकायनयः। तैकायनयः +
कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः। There is elision of किङ्. So also बांखरिः plural
बांखरयः (IV. 1. 95) + भाएडीरपयः = बांखरभंडीरथाः; there is elision of इञ् (IV.
1. 95). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवाः 2. बङ्खरभण्डीरथाः 3. उपकलपका (औरकायनाः + लामकायनाः.
IV. 1. 99, elision of फक्). 4. फक्कनरका. (फक्कयः + नारकयः. IV. 1. 95, elision

of इम्). वक्राखगुपपरिणद्धाः, 6. उञ्जककुभाः (औञ्जयः IV. 1. 95. + काकुभाः IV, 1. 112, then the elision of इम् and अण्). 7. लङ्गुशान्तमुखाः (the elision of इम् IV. 9. 95 as in 4). 8. उरसलंकटाः (औरसायनयः IV. 1. 154 + लांकटयः IV. 1. 95, elision of फिम् and इम्). 9. भ्रष्टक कपिष्ठलाः (elision of इम् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः (elision of इम्) 11. अग्निवेश-वासरेकाः (आग्निवेशयः IV. 1. 105 + वासरेकयः IV, 1. 95, elision of both यम् and इम्).

उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपक-आदिभ्यः,
अन्यतरस्याम्, अद्वन्द्वे, (बहुषु लुग् द्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपक इत्येवमादिभ्यः परस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुषु लुग् भवति अन्यतरस्यां द्वन्द्वे च
द्वन्द्वे च ॥

69. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavâdi of the last sūtra. The elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमकाः, भ्रष्टककपिष्ठलाः, कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दराः. But the plurals of औपकायनयः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. I. 99) is उपकाः or औपकायनाः; of लामकायनः is लमकाः or लामकायनाः; of भ्रष्टक is भ्राष्टकाः or भ्राष्टकयः. The plural of कापिष्ठलिः is कपिष्ठलाः or कापिष्ठलयः. The plural of कृष्णाजिनिः is कृष्णाजिनाः or काष्णाजिनयः. The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or काष्णसुन्दरयः.

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow:—

1. पण्डारक . 2. अण्डारक . 3. गडुक . 4. सुपर्यक . 5. सुपिष्ट . 6. मयूर-
कर्ण . 7. खारीजह्व . 8. शलाघल . 9. पतञ्जल . 10. कटेरण . 11. कुर्षीतक . 12.
काशकृत्त्र . 13. निदाघ . 14. कजशीकण्ड . 15. हामकण्ड . 16. कृष्णपिंगल . 17.
कर्णक . 18. पर्यक . 19. जटिलक . 20. वधिरक . 21. जन्तुक . 22. अनुलोम . 23.
अर्द्धपिंगलक . 24. प्रतिलोम . 25. प्रतान . 26. अनभिहित . (27. चूडारक . 28. उड्डू .
29. सुधायुक . 30. अवन्धक . 31. पदञ्जल . 32. अनुपद . 33. अपजग्ध . 34. कमक .
35. लेखाभ्र . 36. कमन्धक . 37. पिञ्जल . 38. मसूरकर्ण . 39. मदाघ . 40. कदामत्त .
41. हामकण्ड) ॥

आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्ति कुण्डिनच् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगस्त्य-
कौण्डिन्ययोः, अगस्ति-कुण्डिनच्, (बहुषु लुग्, अणो यञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरणो यञश्च बहुषु लुग् भवति परिशिष्टस्यश्च प्रकृतिभागस्य
यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् इत्येतावद्विशौ भवतः ॥

70. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes **अण्** and **यञ्** of the words **अगस्त्य** and **कौण्डिन्य**, when they take the plural; and the words **अगस्ति** and **कण्डिनच्** are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of **अगस्त्य** is **अगस्तयः** (as if it was the plural of **अगस्ति**) and of **कौण्डिन्यः** is **कण्डिनाः**. The affix **अण्** (IV. I. 114.) after **अगस्त्य** and the affix **यञ्** (IV. I. 105) after **कौण्डिन्य** are elided.

The **च** in **कण्डिनच्** is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 163); the word **कण्डिन** has *adātta* on the middle vowel; and its substitute will also have the same accent. There is no elision however in **अगस्तीयाश्छात्रा** (IV. 1. 89) **कौण्डिनाश्छात्राः** (IV. 2. III).

सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि सुपः, धातु-प्रातिपदिकयोः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपो विभक्तेर्धातुसंज्ञायाः प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञायाश्च लुग् भवति ॥

71. There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or as a crude form.

A noun is changed into a root (**धातु**) when it is made a denominative verb. As **पुत्रोयति** (III. 1. 8) he wishes for a son of his own. A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46); as **कष्टभितः** 'having recourse to pain'; **राजपुरुषः** 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus **पुत्रम् इच्छति** = **पुत्रोयति**, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. **कष्टभितः** = **कष्टभितः** &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक ?

Because when it gets any other name, such as **अङ्ग** &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus **वृक्षः**, **सूक्तः** ।

अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदि-प्रभृतिभ्यः, शपः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदिप्रभृतिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपो लुग् भवति ॥

72. After the verb **अद्** 'to eat' and the rest, there is luk-elision of the Vikarāṇa **शप्** (III. 1. 68).

Thus **अद् + शप् + ति** = **अत्ति** 'he eats'; **हन्ति** 'he kills'; **द्वेष्टि** 'he envies'. The *Adādi* verbs belong to the second conjugation. In this class of verbs, therefore, the terminations are added direct to the root.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये शपो बहुलं लुग् भवति ॥

73. In the Chhandas (Vedas) there is diversely the luk-elision of the Vikarṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

There is elision in other conjugations than Adādi; and there is sometimes even no elision in Adādi verbs. As वृत्रं हनति 'he kills Vṛitra.' हन् + शप् + ति = हन्ति instead of हन्ति। So also, अहि शयते instead of शेते. (Rig. V. 1. 32. 5). In these cases the Vikarṇa शप् has not been elided.

In some cases the शप् is elided as नाध्वम् नो देवा. instead of नायध्वम् ॥

यडोऽपि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, अपि, च, (लुग् बहुलम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यडो लुग् भवति अपि प्रत्यये परतः, चकारेण वङ्गमहणमनुकृत्यते नतु छन्दसि इति ॥

74. And there is diversely the luk-elision of यङ् (III. 1. 22) when the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) follows.

By using 'diversely' there is elision of यङ् when other affixes than अच् follow, both in the sacred and profane literature; as लोलुवः 'much cutter' (लोलुय + अच्); पोषुवः 'much purifier.' सनीव्रंसः from व्रंस 'to drop.' इनीध्वंसः from ध्वंस 'to fall,' the नी being added by (VII. 4. 84)

So also यङ् is elided before other affixes than अच्; thus शाकुनिक्की सान्नीपति, हुन्नुनिवीवहीति ॥ See also I. 1. 4.

जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुहोति-अदिभ्यः, श्लुः, (शपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुहोत्यादिभ्य उत्तरस्य शपः श्लु भवति ॥

75. After the verbs हू 'to sacrifice' and others, there is ślu-elision of the Vikarṇa शप् (III. 1. 68).

These verbs belong to the Juhotyādi class. जुहोति 'he sacrifices' (VII. 1. 10). श्लु causes the reduplication of the root. So also विभेति 'he fears' निनेक्ति from निज् 'to purify,' he purifies.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (शपः श्लुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुलं शपः श्लु भवति ॥

76. In the Chhandas there is ślu-elision of शप् diversely.

Elision does not take place where ordained, and takes place where not ordained. दाति प्रियाणि (instead of ददाति) 'he gives pleasant objects,' धाति instead of दधाति.

So also there is slu-elision of the vikarapas after roots other than those belonging to the Juhotyādi class. Thus; पूर्णा विवष्टि, जनिम विवक्ति .

गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
गाति-स्था-घु-पा-भूभ्यः, सिचः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाति स्था घु पा भू इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य सिचो लुग् भवति परस्यै पदेषु परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गायो र्ग्रहणे इण्यिबत्यो र्ग्रहणम् ॥

77. There is luk-elision of the affix सिच् (III. 1. 44) in the Parasmaipada, after the verbs गा 'to go,' स्था 'to stand,' the verbs called घु (I. 1. 20), पा 'to drink' and भू 'to be.'

गा is the substitute of इण् (II. 4. 45). सिच् the affix of the Aorist is elided after these verbs in the Parasmaipada as अगात् 'he went,' अस्थात् 'he stood,' अदात् 'he gave,' अयात् 'he held,' अपात् 'he drank,' अभूत् 'he was.'

Vart:—The verbs गा and पा in the aphorism mean the गा 'to go' (which is the substitute of इण्, and not गै 'to sing,') which also assumes the form गा, and पा 'to drink' and not पा 'to protect.' The verbs गा 'to sing' and पा 'to protect' will form their Aorist with सिच् without its elision; thus अगासीत् 'he sang,' अगासीत् 'he protected.'

In the Atmanepada the सिच् is not elided; thus अगासातां यामौ वैवदत्तेन .

बिभाषा घ्राधेट्शाछासः ; ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिभाषा, घ्रा-धेट्-शा-छासः, (सिचः परस्मै बिभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्रा धेट् शा छा सा इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचः परस्मैपदेषु बिभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

78. After the verbs घ्रा 'to smell,' घेद् 'to drink,' ग्रा 'to pare,' छा (छो) 'to cut,' and सा (सो) 'to destroy,' there is optionally the elision of सिच्, when the parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus अघ्रात् or अघ्रासीत् 'he smelled;' अघात् or अघासीत् 'he drank;' अशात् or अशासीत् 'he pared,' अच्छात् or अच्छासीत् 'he cut' and असात् or असासीत् 'he destroyed.'

There is no option allowed in Atmanepada; thus, अघ्रासातां सुमनसो वदत्तेन ॥

The root घेद् is a Ghu verb, and in its case, the सिच् would have been elided by the last rule also. The present declares an option.

तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः, ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदिभ्यः, त-यासोः,
(सिचःविभाषा लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनादिभ्य उत्तरस्य सिचस्तथासोः परतो विभाषा लुग् भवति ॥

79. After the verbs तन् 'to expand, and others there is optionally the luk-elision of सिच् when the Atmanepada affixes त and यास् of the second person follow.

Thus अतत (VI. 4. 37) or अतनिष्ट 'he expanded,' अतथाः or अतनिष्ठाः 'thou didst expand.' Similarly असात or असनिष्ट 'he gave,' असाथाः or असनिष्ठाः 'thou didst give.'

The roots तन् and सन् must both belong to the Atmanepada, and not to Parasmaipada. Hence in the Parasmaipada there is no elision of सिच्. Thus, अतनिष्ट यूयम् 'you did expand.'

मन्त्रे घसन्ह्वरणशब्दहादृक् कगमिजनिभ्यो लेः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥
मन्त्रे-घस ह्वर-णश-ब्द-ह-आत्-वृक्-क-गमि-जनिभ्यः, लेः, (लुग्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये घस हर णश वृ ह आत् वृक् क गमि जि इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य ले लुग् भवति ॥

80. In the Mantra portion of the Vedas there is luk-elision of the sign of the Aorist (& Perfect), after the verbs घस् 'to eat' हर 'to be crooked,' णश 'to destroy' वृ 'to choose,' 'to cover,' हृ 'to burn,' verbs ending in long आ, वृच् 'to avoid,' कृ 'to make,' गमि 'to go' and जनि 'to be produced.'

The word लि is the name given by ancient grammarians to the affixes of Perfect tense as well as the Aorist, or it might be common term for all tense-affixes. Thus from घस we have अकलन in the sentence, अकलन् पितरो ऽमी मदन पितरो ऽतीवृन्त पितरः पितरः शुन्धन् (Yajurveda XIX. 36 so also Rig. I. 82. 2).

From the verb हृ we have माहर्भित्रस्य रक्षम्. From णश we have प्रणङ् in the following verse मानः संतो अरुषो धूर्तिः प्रणङ्मर्थस्य । रक्षा णोत्रहणस्यते ॥ (Rig. I. 18. 3.)

The word वृ in the sūtra includes both वृङ् and वृश्, as the word वेन in the following ब्रह्मं जज्ञानं प्रथमं पुरस्ताद्विस्ती मतः सुखो वेन आवः । सनु धृवा उरुमा अंस्य विष्टाः सतश्च योनिमसंतश्च वि वः ॥ (Yajurveda 13. 3).

From हृ we have आधक् as in सरस्वत्यभिर्नो नेष्विष्यो मापस्करोः पर्यसा मान् आधक् ॥ (Rig. VI. 61. 14). The word आत् means verbs ending in long आ as प्रा 'to fill.' Thus, मित्रः देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षुर्मैत्रस्य वरुणस्यामेः । आया यात्रा पृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं सूर्ये आत्मा जगतस्तस्युश्च ॥ (Rig. I. 115. 1.)

The root वृच् gives us वर्क as in the following verse:—मा नो अस्मिन्माहापते वरा वग भौरभयथा । संवर्गे संरथि जयः ॥ (Rig. VIII 75. 12).

From कृ we have अकृन् as in the following verse अकृन् कर्म कर्म कृतः सह वाचा मयो भूवा । हे वेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं प्रेतं सचामुवः ॥ (Yajurveda III. 47).

From गन् we have अगन्; as in the following verse: दृतेव यत् बहुभर्षसवो स्वेरनि जागृवांसो अनुगन् । रुशंतमग्निं दर्शतः बृहंतं वपावसं विश्वा हीदवांसं ॥ (Rig. VI. 1.1).

From जन we have अजन्त as अजन्त वा अस्य दन्ताः . This is an example from the Brāhman literature, as the word मन्त्रं in the sūtra refers also to the Brāhman literature.

आमः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमः, (लेः, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमः परस्य ज्ञे ज्ञग् भवति ॥

81. There is luk-elision in the room of that tense-affix (लुक्) which comes after आम् of the Perfect.

आम् is used in forming Periphrastic Perfect ईहांचके 'he endeavoured'. Here, after the verb ईहाम् all tense-affixes are elided, and the Perfect of कृ is added to form its Perfect. Similarly ऊहांचके, ईचांचके ॥

अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्, आप्-सुपः, (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययादुत्तरस्यापः सुपश्च लुग् भवति ॥

82. There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) after an Avyaya or Indeclinable.

Thus, तत्र शाज्ञायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that.' So also कृत्वा 'having done' हिरा &c. Here the case-affix is elided.

नाटययीभावादतोऽमृत्त्रपञ्चम्याः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्ययी-भावात्, अतः, अम्, तु, अपञ्चम्याः, (सुपः लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदन्तादव्ययीभावादुत्तरस्य सुपो न लुग् भवति, अमदिशास्तु तस्य सुपो भवत्यपञ्चम्याः ॥

83. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayi-bhâva compound that ends in अम्; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the last sūtra; instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words ending in short अ; for examples of this, see sūtra II. 1.6; * as उपकुम्भंतिष्ठति 'upakumbha is standing'; उपकुम्भं पश्य 'see the upakumbha.'

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after Avyayibhāva compound ending in any other vowels there is no substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes; as अधिली, अधिकारी.

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution; as उपकुम्भादानम्.

तृतीया सप्तम्योर्बहुलम् ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-सप्तम्योः, बहुलम्, (अम् अव्ययीभावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीया सप्तम्योर्विभक्तयोर्बहुलमम्भावो भवति अव्ययीभावे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सप्तम्या ऋद्धि नदी समास संख्यावयवयो नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

84. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

उपकुम्भेन or उपकुम्भम् कृतं 'done by upakumbha'; उपकुम्भे निर्धेहि or उपकुम्भम् निर्धेहि 'put it in the upakumbha.'

Vart. The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II, 1. 6.) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19); as, सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas'; similarly उन्नतगङ्गम् । ज्योतिषगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् । The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटः, प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुडादेशस्य प्रथमपुरुषस्य परस्मैपदस्यात्मनेपदस्य च डारौरस इत्येते आदेशा भवन्ति यथासंख्यम् ॥

85. डा, रौ and रस् are substituted respectively in the room of the three-affixes of the third person of लुट् (First-future), both in the Parasmaipada and the Atmanepada.

Thus in the Parasmaipada कर्ता 'he will do,' कर्तारौ 'they two will do,' कर्तारः 'they will do.' So also in the Atmanepada we have अध्येता, अध्येतारौ, अध्येतारः ।

Why do we say 'in the 3rd person'? Observe इवः कर्तासि । इवोऽध्येतासे ॥

OPINIONS (continued.)

येनत्वया मुनिमतावृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वसाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्यस्ययत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्तिं कृत्ये यात्रेफराङ्गवतोप्यहमन्नविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वं पश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं ज्ञानसुखगुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वार्णाविशाम्बरतवास्तुमखे जयोद्या यत्पूर्वंपश्चिमजबोधभूते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल बर्चभुजां समूहेऽप्याशीर्वचो भवतु पंडित जालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्विद्वच्छिरोमणि विज्ञानामहर्निशं श्रेयोभिलाषी विद्याभास्कर । पण्डित (जालचंद्र) शर्मा
गुरुः श्रीमान्महाराजाधिराजराजराजेश्वर योधपुराधीश्वरावरज श्रीमन्महाराजाकिशोरीसिंह सेनाधीश्वर
(णां च)

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.

* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability ; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

The Tribune, (Lahore), 9th December, 1891.

* * * The translator has spared no pains in preparing a translation which may place Pānini's celebrated work within the comprehension of people not deeply read in Sanskrit. The paper, printing and the general get-up of the book before us are admirable, and considering the size of the book (it is estimated to extend to 2000 pages) the price appears to be extremely moderate.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta), 18th December, 1891.

* * * Judging from the first part before us, we must say that Babu Sris Chandra has succeeded well in the difficult work of translation, which seems to us to be at once lucid, full and exact. It is no exaggeration to say that Babu Sris Chandra's translation, when completed, will claim a prominent place among similar works by European Sanskrit Scholars.

The Hope, (Calcutta), 20th December, 1891.

* * * The get-up of the publication is of a superior order, and the contents display considerable painstaking on the part of the translator.

The Arya Patrika, (Lahore), 22nd December, 1891.

* * * The talented Babu has rendered a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing the sort of translation he is engaged upon. His effort is most laudable and deserves every encouragement.

Karnatak Patra, (Dharwar), 7th February, 1892.

* * * Mr. Vasu gives ample proof of his competency to undertake work which is not an easy task even to learned Sanskritists.

The Punjab Times, (Rawalpindi), 17th February, 1892.

* * * Babu Sris Chandra is well-known for his scholarly attainments. He has done the translation in a lucid and clear English. We can strongly

OPINIONS (continued.)

recommend it to those who wish to study Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English.

The Mandalay Herald, 31st December, 1891.

* * * Students and readers of classic language of India are much indebted to the learned Pandit for his translation of this scientific work on the grammar and philology of the Sanskrit language.

The Arya Darpan, (Shahjahanpur), February, 1892.

* * * Such a work has been a desideratum. It is well got up, and praiseworthy. We wish it every success.

The Allahabad Review, January, 1892.

* * * The translator has done his work conscientiously and faithfully. The translation of such a work into English, therefore, cannot but be a great boon to all students of the science of language and of Sanskrit literature in special. The translator deserves the help of the Government and the Chiefs of India.

The Maharatta (Poona), 4th July, 1893.

* * * If we may judge from the first part which lies before us, it will prove a very valuable help to the student of Pāṇini. * * So far as it goes it is creditably performed, and therefore deserves patronage from all students of Sanskrit and the Education Department.

The Arya Siddhanta (Allahabad), 15th November, 1891.

॥ पाणिनीय व्याकरण अष्टाध्यायी का अङ्गरेजी अनुवाद ॥

उक्त पुस्तक श्रीयुत वा० श्रीशचन्द्र वसु वकील हाईकोर्ट बना कर छपाते हैं। वास्तवमें यह काम हमारे भारतवर्ष की उन्नति का इस लिये है कि संस्कृत के व्याकरण में थोड़ा भी जिन का प्रवेश है और अङ्गरेजी अच्छी जानने होंगे वे सहज में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अच्छे प्रकार अभ्यास बढ़ा सकेंगे। ज्यों २ हमारे प्रशस्त पुस्तकों का अनेक भाषाओं में अनुवाद होता जायगा उस के साथ २ हमारी उन्नति जानिये। यद्यपि मैं इस अङ्गरेजी भाष्य के गुण दीर्घों को ठीक २ नहीं जान सकता तथापि अन्य लोगों से सुन कर कुछ जाना है। पहिले इस भाष्य में मूल सूत्र, दूसरे उस के पदच्छेद, तृतीय संस्कृत में सूत्र की वृत्ति-अर्थ लिखा है। इस के भागे अङ्गरेजी में सूत्र का स्पष्ट अर्थ लिखा। तिस पीछे उदाहरणों की सिद्धि में जिस २ अध्याय पाद के जो २ सूत्र लगते हैं उन के पते सहित उदाहरण वा प्रत्युदाहरण लिखे हैं और उस सूत्रपर जो कोई वार्तिक वा परिभाषा है तो उसके भी अर्थ और उदाहरण स्पष्ट सुगमरीति से सिद्ध किये हैं।

BOOK III.

THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghazipur.



Allahabad:

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at the Panini Office,

1894.

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S

SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF

JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have studied Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāśikā, may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashle dhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashle Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *padas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

The rates of its subscription for the complete work published in eight Books or 32 chapters are as follow :—

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. S., Director of Public Instruction, N. W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pāṇini Office,

Allahabad.

THE PUBLISHER.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:0:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानिता ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्युपपदोपाधिकारगमाम्बर्जयित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, तिन्, क्तिन् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, शकृत् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पशु in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, हृति and नाथ are upapadas, पशु is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यन्, तव्य, अनीयर्, taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रतिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣhā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātu' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣhā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udātta on the first अ, as in कर्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udatta on the final ; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicatory प are anudatta ; those having an indicatory ज्ञ, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory झ and ण throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्ति ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुप्. पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudatta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As वृत्तौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudatta ; so also वृषः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudatta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दासमाख्यधिपतीकारेषु सन्निष्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises' ; तितिक्षते 'he endures patiently' ; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects' ; तेजयति 'he sharpens' ; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अत्ते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-
बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, शान अवखण्डने, शान भवतेजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घविशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्नर्थविशेष इत्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', शन 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : मीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', हीहांसते 'he straightens', ग्रीहांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति, बाधयति, शनयति and निशानयति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासन्नन्तरप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमिच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object' ? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनेच्छति ; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished' ? Observe ईवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति ; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं ; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing' ? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make' ; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that the सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminen danger'; as शङ्के पतियति कूलम् = पिपतियति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminen danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमूर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप् आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामथं वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि मान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा एवा वृका भयायवो विदन्. Here भयाय (pl. भयायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7 ; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यच्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvritti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply ; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Vart : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यंकीयति मंचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead ; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, स-लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारश्च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽवगल्भह्रीवहोडेभ्यः क्तिन्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, श्येनेवाचरति काकः. श्येनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarā'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (श्येन + य = श्येना + य = श्येनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words ओजस् — ओजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस — हंसायते; सारस — सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. Sec. I. 1. 52.

Vart :— After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होइ, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होइते or होइायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of *kyañ*.

Vart :— According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्वति or गर्वायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः, भुवि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्चन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृग् and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृगो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix च्वि', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्वि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्वि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetition of च्वि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्वि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains च्वि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रंहस्, शश्वत्, बहत्, वेहत्, नृषत्, शुधि, अधर, भोजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोहत्, हन्, शुचिस्, अरजस्) ।

लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-
डाज्भ्यः, क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य=लोहिना + य=लोहिनाय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *ādi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix क्यङ्, while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, मद्र, फेन and मन्त्र.

The indicatory क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārvaadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guṇa* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ्, and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नः क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यप् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू, or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू, or अस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्वे: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्यप् is added in the sense of अभूततन्मात्र इ. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमण्येऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सनकष्टकथकृच्छ्रगहनैः कएवचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischievous', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय क्रमणे प्राप्तिः=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart :—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सन, कष्ट, कल, कृच्छ्र and गहन; as, सनायते, कष्टायते, कल्लायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कष्टं न प्राप्तिः.

कर्मणो रोमन्यतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्यत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्यशब्दाच्चतपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थयोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्य 'ruminating' and तपस 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्यं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्यायते गौः 'the cow ruminates.'

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्यं वर्त्तयति.

Vart: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as तपश्चरति=तपस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पौष्मभ्यामुद्गमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्गमने, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दादूष्मशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्गमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-कलह-अभ्र-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करीर्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अट्टाट्टाशीकाकोटपोटासोटाकष्टामहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz:—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अट्टा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कष्टा; as अट्टायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कष्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः, कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चेत्कर्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure' ; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent' ? Observe सुवेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Deva datta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master ; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सौट ।

नमोवरिविचित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविगोषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz :— नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods' ; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders' ; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्णिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, णिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविगोषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जन परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz :—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपपुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डायते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ्, the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The ङ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Vart :—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart:—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥

पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हलि and कलि the sense is that of taking; as हलि गृह्णात = हलयति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सम्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अजहलत् and अचीकलत्, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्तूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातुरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाञ्चो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, योनपुनश्च शार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूत्रिमूत्र्यद्वयशृणोतीनां महणं यङ् विधानेकाजह्लाद्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पक् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राद् 'to go', (because the root अद् is preceded by the *upasarga* प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Vart:—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सूचि, सूनि, मूत्रि, अदि, भर्ति, अग् and अर्ण, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, सोमूच्यते, अग्राच्यते, अग्राच्यते, अग्राच्यते, and प्रीणिनूच्यते

The affix is not added in these cases भृगं शोभते or भृगं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोच्यते and शोच्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the *Atmanepada* as the root is डित्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ,

(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्भातो. कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्धम्यते. After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the *sūtra* i. e. यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद् चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ दृश्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाक्) comes always after the following roots, viz:—कृप् 'to cut off', सृप् 'to sit', चर् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', दह् 'to burn', दृश् 'to bite' and गृ 'to swallow'.

Thus कृप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंचर्यते 'he walks badly'; जंजयते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजयते, दन्दयते, दन्दयते, निज्जगिष्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृगं क्षुम्पति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति बृषजः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थे वेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army'; लाप 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churâdi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिसेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churâdi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhâtupāṭha. After the verbs of the Churâdi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सख्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच्; as, सखापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आप् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + अति = अर्थापि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called ङि is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्थाप the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाग, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after नून, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम, of 'taking' after स्वच्, of 'putting on' after वन and of 'taking' after वण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिजन्यो हेतुमान् तस्मिन् नभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयन्यायार्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कुल्लुक् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ्लोपश्च कान्नात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे हि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कर्तुं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra'. So also मूत्रयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधमाचष्टे = कंसं पातयति; बलिबन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रि विवासं आचष्टे = रात्रिं विवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्यादगमनं समावयते = सूर्यमुदगयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix एिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent Thus पुण्ययोगं जानाति = पुण्येण योजयति. So also मृषाभियोजयति.

कण्डूवादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूम् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डू 'to itch', &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicative. The words कण्डू &c are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्डूवादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, हृणीम्, बल्ग, अल्र, मनस्, महीङ्, लेट्, लोट्, इरस्, इरज्, इरञ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कृषुन, मगाध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिषणज्, इषुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गव, एजा, कोजा, खेजा, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुप्धूपविच्छिपशिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-धूप-विच्छि-पशि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप् 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण् being read along with पन् 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as शतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicative letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्धृणायां ऋते तत् ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ङ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम् 'to desire'.

The ए indicates *avidhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ङ shows Atmanepada ; as कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेने and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ârdhadhâtuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोसा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तित्ता or ऋतीयिता ; कम्निता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ârdhadhâtuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ârdhadhâtuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ârdhadhâtuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ârdhadhâtuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुप्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृरूपमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य स्यतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृट् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट्, formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लृट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिद्धहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययौ भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जेषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति द्विद्युत् उदधिं ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वज्रति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्, आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्दं कुत्सार्थां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच्च इति वक्तव्यम् सुलुप्तार्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or भस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also लोज्यांचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rîg Veda I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुनुम्पाञ्चकार, हरिद्राञ्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनर्च्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्ह, Perfect आनर्ह (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख्, Perf. उखोख (VI. 4. 78) उखतुः, उखुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्व, Perf. चुकुर्वे; पूव्, Perf. सुपूवे.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरक्षणेष्ु, अय गतो, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायाञ्चक्रे 'he ran away'; आसाञ्चक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष शब्दे, विद् ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz :—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उषोष, विषाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद् as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मिथी भये, ही जञ्जायाम्, डुभृच् धारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, श्लुविव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ही 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to IIvādi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभयाञ्चकार or बिभाय, जिहयाञ्चकार or जिहाय, बिभराञ्चकार or बिभार, जुह्वाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कृञ्जानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञ्नुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञिति प्रत्याहारेण कृञ्वस्तथो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूभावे न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ārdhadhātuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपादयते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद् 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *luk*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विदाङ्करोतु विदाङ्कुरुताम् &c.

**अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्सादयामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमया-
मकः पावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport' : to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकृः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (निङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अकृन् is employed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :—
अभ्युत्सादीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

चिल लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिल, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः च्लि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix च्लि is added to the verbal root.

The इ of च्लि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only लि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च्लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

च्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्लेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्युशमुशकृषदपट्टपां सिज्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of चिन्, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च् is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकृषीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>				<i>Atmanepada.</i>			
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	
1st pers.	सं	एव	स्म	सि	एवहि	स्महि	
2nd pers.	सीः	एतं, सं	एत, त	स्थाः, याः	सायां	ध्वं	
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	सुः	एत, त	सातां	सन्त	

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पर्श 'to touch', मृश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', हृष् 'to become satisfied', and दृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पर्श has three forms; अस्पर्शत्, अस्पर्क्षीत् or अस्पृक्षत्. Similarly मृश् has अमृक्षत्, अमृक्षीत् or अमृक्षत्; कृष्, अकृषीत् अकृषीत् or अकृषत्; दृष्, अदृक्षीत्, अदृक्षीत्, or अदृषत्; हृष्, अहृषीत्, अहृषीत् or अहृषत्।

शल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, कसः, (चलेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), क्स is the substitute of चिन्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with क्स are as follow:

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>				<i>Atmanepada.</i>			
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	
1st pers.	सं	सात्र	साम्	सि	सावहि	सामहि	
2nd pers.	सः	सतं	सत	स्थाः, याः	साथाम्	सध्वम्, ध्वम्	
3rd pers.	सत्	सतां	सन्	सत, त	सातां	सन्त	

As, मृश् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अमृक्षत् and अकृषत्; so बृह 'to milk' forms अबृक्षत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिक्षत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अभैत्सीत्, अच्वैत्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, ऊ, ऋ or ॠ'? Observe अघाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अक्रोषीत् and अनोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

शिलष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिलषः, आलिंगने, (चलेः, कसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिलषेर्धातोराणिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. क्स is the substitute of चिन् after the verb शिलष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As भाशिलकत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जतुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (क्लेः, बसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्भातोः परस्य क्लेः क्तादेशो न भवति ॥

47. क्त is not the substitute of क्लि after the verb दृष् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्त. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take भङ् and सिच्; as भङ्क्षत् or भङ्क्षीत् 'he saw'.

शिञ्जिदुस्तुभ्यः कर्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-ञि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्तरि, चङ्, (क्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वन्तोर्भो धातुभ्यः शिञ्जिदुस्तुभ्योऽर्थे परस्य क्लेश्चकारेशो भवति कर्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कमेठपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb शि 'to serve', दृ 'to run', and दृ 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of क्लि, when लृङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vriddhi* and च is to distinguish it from भङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as भञ्जीकृतम् 'he caused to make'; भञ्जिभित् 'he served or went'; भङ्क्ष्वत् 'he ran'; भञ्जुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, भकारविषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vārtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have भञ्जकम् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be भञ्जीकम् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा छेद्-इव्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छेद्-इव्योः, (क्लेः, चङ्, कर्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छेद् पाने, दुभोर्द्वि गतिवृद्धयोः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य क्लेर्विभाषा चकारेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots छे 'to suck', and शि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of क्लि, when लृङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, **भक्षत्**, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative **सिञ्**, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have **भक्षत्** and **भक्षीत्** 'he sucked'. So also of **श्व**, we have **भक्षिश्वयत्** 'he grew'. It also takes the **भञ्**, (III. 1. 58) and then its form is **भक्षयत्** or **भक्षयीत्**.

गुपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्व एनेच्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb **गुप्** 'to protect', **चङ्** is optionally the substitute of **च्लि** in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root **गुप्** does not take the affix **आञ** (II. 1. 28). As **इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृह्णन् अजुगुपतम्** 'Mitra Varuna protected these our houses'. The other forms are **अगोप्तम्**, **अगोपिष्टम्** or **अगोपायष्टम्**. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इज प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ यावन् च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णन्तःभ्यः पूर्वेषु एनेच्छङि प्राप्तं छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs **ऊन** 'to decrease', **ध्वन** 'to sound', **इज** 'to send', and **अर्द** 'to go or to beg', **चङ्** is not the substitute of **च्लि** in the Chhandas.

Thus we have **ऊनयीः** in the Vedas; **औनयन्** in the classical literature; so also **ध्वनयीः**, **हेलयीः** and **अर्दयीत्**; their classical forms being **अर्दध्वनत्**, **एन्यजत्**, and **आर्दयत्**. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII. 2, 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-स्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वन परिभाषणे, मृगादेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, वक्तिजादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्व एनेरङादेशो भवति कर्तृवाचिनि लुङि परत ॥

52. After the verbs **अस्** 'to throw', **वक्स्** 'to speak', and **ख्या** 'to speak', **अङ्** is the substitute of **च्लि**, when **लुङ्** follows signifying the agent.

वक्स् may be either the root, or the substitute of **वृ** (II. 4. 53) and so also **ख्या** may be the root, or the substitute of **चक्स्** (II. 4. 54). The root **अस्** belonging to the द्विवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision **पुषादि**, and therefore it would have taken **भङ्** in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atamanepada also; as पर्यास्यत् (VII. 4. 17), अयोचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, सिच चरणे, ह्व स्पर्श्यां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्लेरडादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्व 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् 'he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आह्वत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनैपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनैपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनैपदेषु परतः च्लेरडादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्व, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत् or अलिप्त 'he painted'; असिचत् or असिक्त 'he sprinkled'; आह्वत् or अह्वसत् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इत्, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अडादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत्, अद्युतत् 'he shone'; गम्तु, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as व्यद्योतिट्, अज्योतिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्र गतौ, शासु अनुशिष्टौ, ऋ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेरडादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ दृ रुहि इत्येतैभ्यः परस्य च्लेः छन्दसि विषये ऽङ्गादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', दृ 'to tear', and रुहि 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अदरत् 'he tore'; अरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षात्, अमृत, अदारीत् and अरुक्षत्.

चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (ह्ले :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पठ गतो अस्माद्धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति तद्गच्छे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb पठ 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपादि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसता 'they two went', अपस्तत् 'they went'; अङ् + पठ + चिण् + त = अ + पाठ् + इ = अपाठ् (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ह्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तद्गच्छे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिण् देशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर 'to be full', ताय 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिट् 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट् 'he was produced'; अबोधि or अबुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट् 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिट् 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिट् 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (ह्लेः, ते चिण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि तद्गच्छे परतश्चिणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्रासविभाषा). Therefore we have also भूकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly प्रज्ञावि or अज्ञाविट केशरः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.* in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काष्ठम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as अकारि कटो वेवदत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when त follows.

Thus अवोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, *e. g.* अशोहि गौर्गोपाजकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्ले. कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्वयारुद्ध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.* अन्वयारोधि गौर्गोपाजकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (ह्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेञ्चिञ्चादेशो भवति भावे कर्मणि तश्च ईरतः ॥

66. चिष् is the substitute of चिञ् when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अगृहि भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिष् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्वक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते मानः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridhhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory च makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भो+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debaras शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka; as दिव्+श्यन्+

तिप् = शीच् + ब + ति (VII. 2. 77) = शीध्यति ; so also सीध्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्रमुत्रसिब्रुटिलषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा,
भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-ब्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्रमु वसि ब्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन्, is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs ; भाश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्रम् 'to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', ब्रु 'to cut', and लष 'to desire'.

Thus भाशते or भाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति ; ब्रुयति or ब्रुटति ; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्,
वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्यति, प्रयस्यति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके,
कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुम् अभिषवे इस्वेवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As सु+इनु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (शुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः इनुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix इनु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+इनु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणीति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शुः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्ष् व्याप्तौ भोवादिभ्यः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां इनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षणीति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां शुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्ष् स्वक्ष् तनूकरणे, अस्मान्तनूकरणे वर्तमानादन्यतरस्यां इनु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षणीति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः इनम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, इनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो इनम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix इनम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. •The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see sūtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श् is for the sake of sūtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिरुञ्ज्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-रुञ्ज्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञश्च उपस्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanādi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sārva-hâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanādi verbs, for which see Dhātupāṭha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanādi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanādi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and अकृत्याः; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विरुण्यो अ ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-रुण्योः, अ, च,

उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि वि धि वि जि वि प्रीणनाथोः कृ वि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोपस्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृषि 'to hurt', when a sārvaadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्व or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuādi class. Thus धिन्व + ति = धिन् + अ + उ + ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sārvaadhâtuka or an ārdha-hâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthānivat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्रयादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीम् क्रयविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kṛyādi class when a sārvaadhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas गण and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e.g. शुशुमस्य आप्ण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते = मृ + शप् + ति instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न तेषु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेधतु 3rd. per. sing. of the imperative लोद् of the root नो 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = नो + शप् + तु; इन्ध्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेम (ढ + उ + सिप् + शप् + अम) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root ढ, the classical form being तरेम or तोर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to लृत् and लङ् affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यङ् (III. I. 22 to III. I. 86).

लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (अन्दि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्सि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृशोरग्वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sārvaadhātuka as well; see Rule II. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गन्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपगेयम्; गमेम जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र चिमामये; विष्टेयमेनां मनसि प्रविष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छुक्रेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *guru* by rule VII. 4. 6.; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मेवत्कर्मेणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेवत्, कर्मणा, (त्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The *ञ* denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a *ञ* denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or *ञ*, denoting a agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix *ञ* denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of *यक्* (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of *चि* for *च्लि* (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus *मिथते काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'; *भवेत् काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object: and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word *वत्* 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus *मिथते कुसूत्रेन*.

The word *कर्मणा* 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus *साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति* 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also *साधु स्थाली पचति* 'the pot cooks well'; here *स्थाली* is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhāva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव,
(कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb *तप्* 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word *तपस्* itself.

Thus *तप्यते तपस्तापसः* 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in *उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः* 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहन्नुनसां यक्चिषौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-न्-नसां,
यक्-चिषौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृय् affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यस्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sûtra III. 2. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भण् = कुम्भकार. 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

रुदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्बर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृस्तत्को भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prâtipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus वृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वा असंख्योऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असंख्यः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे असंख्यरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवारो वा बाधको भवति स्वधिकार-
विहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sûtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes **वृन्** and **हृच्** (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix **क्** after verbs having a penultimate **इक्** vowel, and the roots **ज्ञा**, **प्री** and **कु** is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes **वृन्** and **हृच्** also. Thus **क्षिप्** is a root that has a penultimate **इ** belonging to the *pratyāhāra इक्*; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix **क्** will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus **विक्षिप् + क = विक्षिप् + अ = विक्षिपः**; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally **विक्षिप् + वृन् = विक्षिपकः**; and **विक्षिप् + हृच् = विक्षेप्य** nom. sing. **विक्षेप्या**.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes **अण्** and **क** are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* **अ**; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining **अण्** as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining **क**, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long **आ**, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus **गो + दा + क = गोदः** 'giver of cows'. So also **कम्बजन्** 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix **अण्**.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (*भवत्प*) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes **क**, **अण्**, **भृच्**, **ण** &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining **क्तिन्** in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining **अ** after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though **अ** and **ति** are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots **चिकीर्ष** and **जिहीर्ष** will form feminine nouns in **आ** and not by **क्**. Thus **चिकीर्षा** and **जिहीर्षा** and not **चिकीर्षेति** &c.

कृत्याः प्राक्खुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, खुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्ङ्वादिभिः कृत्यति प्रागतस्माच्छुल्ङ्गशब्दाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम
कृत्यसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्ङ्गौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of *Kṛitya*.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kṛitya*, a subdivision of *kri* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kṛitya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,

(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कलिमर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 183) and the letter र् indicating penultimate udatta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicative ए. The force of ए is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vart:—The affix कलिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पक्षेक्षिमा माषाः 'kidney beans fit to be

अद्'; निवेजिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i. e. fragile'. This affix be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i. e. in the ve and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated e, to denote also the action.

अद्यो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्यः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्भाते र्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्किं गति वति यत्ति जनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udatta accent on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत्= गेय, noun sing, गेयम् 'what be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquer'. The आ of गा and पा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *prima-* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the derivative root हिस्त्, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ārdha-tuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्त्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus हिस्त्यम् 'what is to be cut'; धिस्त्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly जु before ārdhātuka affixes becomes ज्ञो, the ओ is changed into अच् before च (VI. 1. 79) the form then is ज्ञच्. The root ज्ञच् however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; ग्यो, प्यम्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शक् 'to leap', अत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these roots, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तक्यम्, शक्यम्, ज्ञ्यो, यक्यम्, and ज्ञन्यम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or घात्यम्. The latter form is used by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into च, and न into ण् and causes vriddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोः, अद्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्ताद्भातो रकारोपधात् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars **व्यत्**; thus **शप् + व्यत् = शप्वं** 'to be sworn'; **लभ् + व्यत् = लभ** 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short **अ**, the root will take **व्यत्** thus **पच् + व्यत् = पाचयम्** 'what is to be cooked'; **वाक्यम्** 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take **व्यत्**; thus **कुप् + व्यत् = कोप्यम्** 'to be angry'; also **गोप्यम्** 'to be concealed'.

The word **अत्** is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of **त्** here is, by I. 1. 70, that short **अ** having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long **आ**. Therefore, after the root **आप्** 'to obtain', we have **व्यत्** and not **वत्**; thus **आप्यम्** 'to be reached' *i. e.* 'attainable'.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्शक्नो, सह मर्षणे, अनयोर्धातोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **शक्** 'to be able', and **सह** 'to bear'.

Thus **शक्यम्** 'possible'; **सह्यम्** 'endurable'.

गदमदचरयमश्नानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चरयमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद् मद् चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेरादि चागुरौ ॥

100. The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **गद्** 'to speak', **मद्** 'to be mad', **चर** 'to go, to eat', and **यम** 'to restrain' when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus **गद्यम्** 'what is to be spoken, *i. e.* prose'; **मद्यम्** 'wine'; **चर्यम्** 'what is to be followed'; **यम्यम्** 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take **व्यत्**; thus **प्रगाद्यम्**; **प्रमाद्यम्** &c.

The root **यम्** would have taken the affix **यत्** by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in **न** and is preceded by **अ**; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb **यम्** will not take the affix **वत्**. Therefore with regard to **यम्**, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart :—The root **चर** when preceded by the preposition **आङ्** takes the **वत्** affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus **आचर्य देशः** 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes **व्यत्**; thus **आचर्यः** 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपश्यवर्या गह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

अवद्य-पश्य-वर्याः, गह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पश्य वर्या इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते गह्यं पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु तिपास्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पश्य and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पापं 'condemnable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix क्यप् to the root वृ by III. 1. 106. So also पण्यं कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पण्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्यम्, formed by the addition of ण्यत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्त्या from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्या ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह्यर्थातोः करणे यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ण्यत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतौ, अस्माप्स्यति प्राप्ते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिधेययोर्यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो ऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken ण्यत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ण्यत्; as भार्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmana'.

उपसर्गा कात्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गा, कात्या प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गेति निपात्यते कात्या चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्गा is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्गा is formed by adding यत् affix to the root सृ 'to move' compounded with the preposition उप. The word कात्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्गा गौ. 'the cow fit for the bull' ; उपसर्गा वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used ; as उपसर्गा शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ ; as अ + जृ + यत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरित कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च, (यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदधर्तोः सुवन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यश्च ॥

106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + वद् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + वद् + य = ब्रह्मोद्यम् ; ब्रह्म + वद् + यत् = ब्रह्मवद्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद् + यत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाद्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix क्यप् and not by यत् or क्यप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, [(अनुपसर्गे, सुप्, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदेऽनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुप् and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvṛtti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood'; देवभुयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू + यत् = भो + यत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रभव्यम्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुप्, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदेऽनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुप् अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + हन् + त = ब्रह्महत्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन् + णिच् + घञ्). This verb does not take the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रघातो वतैस्ते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तु शास्वद्वृजुषः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्व-वृ-द्वृ-जुषः, क्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास्व वृ द्वृ जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिद्वि गुह्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भास्वपूर्वाद्धः संज्ञावाप्तुपसंख्यानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शा 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', हृ 'to respect' and जुप् 'to please' comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुप्, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. The इ + क्यप् = इ + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added to Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a क् affix, with an indicatory प follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुत्यः 'to be praised' शास् + क्यप् = शिस् + य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ + क्यप् = वृत्यः 'to be chosen'; आहृ + क्यप् = आहृत्यः 'to be honoured'; जुप् + क्यप् = जुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of the chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires चत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृष् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृङ्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या कृत्विजः.

Vart.—The roots शस् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शस्यम् or शंस्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यम् or दोह्यम्, गृह्यम् गोह्यम्.

Vart.—The verb अञ्ज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition अ takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अञ्ज् + क्यप् = आञ्ज्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

Obj.—How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इण् of the Adādi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्,

अकृपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिचृदी वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणौ सृज्पर्थद्वन्द्वयः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत् + क्यप् = वृत्यम्; so also वृध्यम्. But कृप् and चृत will form कर्त्तव्यम् and चर्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in ऋत्? It is to indicate that short

is meant and not long कृ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take ण्यत् and form क्रीर्यम्.

Vart :—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्यो रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Vart :—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and अव takes ण्यन् as सम्प्रसर्ग्यो.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन् 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + य = खेयम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृज्य Pl. भृज्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe धृ + ण्यत् = धार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृज्याः or संभार्याः.

मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣhā*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root मृज् having a penultimate कृ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिमृज् + ण्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिमृग् + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यसृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्यअव्यश्याः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि
राजसूय-सूर्य-सृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यश्याः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्यः सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यश्या इत्येते शाखा क्यप् निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यश्या are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राज्ञा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा इह स्यते, राज + सु + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice'.

Similarly स्र or स्र + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky ; or that which impels (सृजति) creation to action. वृष + वद् + क्यप् = वृषोद्यम् 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम्. कृट् + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्यथते = अव्यथ्यः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्धयौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्धयौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिद्वरुद्धश्च क्यप् निपात्यते नदे ऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhīdyā river.

ऊर्ध्व + क्यप् = उद्धय 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhāya river ; the ह्र is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus भेत्ता and उज्जिता.

पुष्यसिद्धयौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धयौ, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेश्चाधिकरणे क्यप् निपात्यते नक्षत्रे ऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध् + क्यप् = सिद्धयः 'the asterism Siddhāya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण 'nourishing', सेधनम् 'accomplishing'.

**विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
पुंस्, बोध्येषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregular-
y formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+क्यप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified
& make rope'; वि+नी+क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+क्यप् = जित्य 'a plough
that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपाच्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

**प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, छन्दसि, (क्यप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the
prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic li-
terature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम्; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

**पदास्त्रैरिबाह्यापक्ष्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्त्रैरि-
बाह्या-पक्ष्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पद-अस्त्रैरिणि बाह्यायां पक्ष्ये चायं ग्रहर्थातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it
means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already
defined in sūtra I. i. 11. So also अग्रगृह्यम्.

The word अस्त्रैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide
for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus प्रागृह्या सेना 'an army
lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates
that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to
have this sense.

The word पक्ष्य is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a par-
tisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans
of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृषोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृषोः, (क्यप्

वृत्तिः ॥ कृषो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृष् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix ण्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ + क्यप् = कृष्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ + ण्यत् = कर्ष्यम् also वृष्यम् or वृष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्धवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गं 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्तो 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युञ् + क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज्ञ is changed into ग. When not meaning carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम्

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशब्दः सहाय्येवर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेर्द्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे एवप्रत्ययो भवति सन्नान्यतरस्यां वृद्ध्याभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस 'to dwell', takes the affix ण्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vriddhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त् in अमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and a *fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a *paribhāṣā* which declares एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्याया न्न is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्ठक्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोक्तीयोक्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्य खन्य-
खान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छ्यप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृष्ठानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्ठक्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उक्तीय-उक्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-
पृष्ठानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठक्यादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निवारयन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठक्यं, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उक्तीय, उक्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृष्ठ.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठक्यं is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+तृक्+य (the root कृत् transformed into तृक् by transposition) = निष्ठक्यं. As निष्ठक्यं चिन्वीत् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हू or हू+क्यप् = देवहूय. So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप् = प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप् = उक्तीयः; उत्+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप् = उक्छिष्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत् = मर्यः; स्तृ (to cover)+यत् = स्तर्या; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend)+यत् = ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत् = खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत् = खान्यः; देव (God)+यज् (to sacrifice)+यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ (to ask)+क्यप् = आपृच्छ्यः, प्रति+सीव (to sew)+क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण+वद् (to speak)+ण्यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत् = स्ताव्यः; उ+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृष्ठ = उपचार्यपृष्ठम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृष्ठ follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचैयपृष्ठम्.

ऋहलोर्ण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हन्ताच्च ण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ+ण्यत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ण्यत् =

हार्यं nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ + ण्यत् = धार्यं; 'to be held'; वच् + ण्यत् = वक्तुं + ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच् + ण्यत् = पाक्यम्

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके योत्ये ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु + ण्यत् = लौ + य = लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु + ण्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्य 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लव्य we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpuruṣa* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवविरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वकं सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', चम् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ्, and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु + ण्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, वाप्यम्, लाप्यम्, त्राप्यम् and आचाप्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the root not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम् + ण्यत् = इव्यम् ॥

आनाभ्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाभ्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाभ्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयते राङ् पूर्वोऽण्यद्वाङ्वाङ्गो निपात्यते ॥

127. The word **आनाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—**आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + ने + य = आनाय्यः**, (the **ङ** being changed into **आय्** by the analogy of VI. I. 79).

As **आनाय्यो दक्षिणाग्निः**. This is a species of Dakṣiṇāgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called *ānāyya*. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakṣiṇāgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakṣiṇāgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakṣiṇāgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the *last i. e.* from Gārhapatya fire, it is *ānāyya* Dakṣiṇāgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called *ānāyya*; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is **आनेय** meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मत्तौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मत्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमत्तावभिधेये ॥

128. The word **प्रणाय्यः** is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word **असंमत्ति** is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus **प्रणाय्यश्चोरः** 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is **प्र + नी** 'to lead' + **यत् = प्रणेयः** 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is **असंमत्ति** which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word **संमत्ति** also means **अभिज्ञाष** or 'desire'; and **असंमत्ति** would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word **असंमत्ति** means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रमृश्यात्, प्रणाय्याय भन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसंनार्यनिकायधाया मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥

२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-संनार्य-निकाय-धायाः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामि-धेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चाभि-धायाम् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, साजाय्य, निकाय्य and धाव्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure) + ण्यत् = पाय्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा + ण्यत् = मे + य VI. 4. 65 = मेय). सम् + नी (to lead) + ण्यत् = सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सज्जेयम्। नि + त्त्रि (to collect) + ण्यत् = नि + चै + य = नि + चाय + य = निकाय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचैय। धा (to put) + ण्यत् = धाव्या (fem.). The sāmādheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचायौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-
संचायौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाय्य संचाय्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते क्रतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचाय्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + यत् = कुण्ड + पा + य + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम् + त्त्रि (to collect) + ण्यत् = संचाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचार्योपचार्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ,
परिचार्य-उपचार्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + त्त्रि + ण्यत् = परि + चै + य = परि + चाय + य = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ह्रै being changed into आह्र by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम् + वह् + ण्यत् = सम् + ऊह् + य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं विन्दीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिच्येयम् 'to be heaped', उपच्येयम् 'to be increased', संवाह्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word भग्निचित्य means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment लुक् (त्). These words have *udatta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चयेन् 'to be gathered'.

श्वुल्लृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वुल्लृचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ष्वुल्लृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes ष्वुल् (अक) and लृच् (ट) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + ष्वुल् = कार् + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार् + भक् (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + लृच् = कर् + लृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त्तृ nom. sing. कर्त्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of लृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from लृन्; the simple लृ includes both लृच् and लृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युशिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, शिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निभ्योगणोभ्यल्लयः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्दादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो णिनि, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द् 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) णिनि (इन) and अच् (अ) respectively.

The word *Adi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द् class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix णिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द् + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मदि—मदनः ; हृषि—हृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः .

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; इमि—इमनः .

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, इर्षणः, संक्रन्दन, संकर्षण, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विमर्षणः, लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः .

The महाद् verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उद्गस्—उद्गासिन् ; उद्ग्रास्—उद्ग्रासिन् ; स्था—स्थायिन् ; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्द—समर्दिन् . So also the verbs रक्ष, भ्रु, वस्, वप् and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षन्, निभ्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन् . The verbs व्याचि, व्याहृ, संव्याहृ, व्रज, वद and वस take एिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अव्याचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अवादिन् and अवासिन् . So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन् . So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशायिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन् अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् .

The following are पञ्चादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वव, चन, तप, पत नद्द्, भपद्, वस् गरद् भवद्, तरद्, चीरद्, ग्राहद्, जर, मर, क्षर, क्षग, सूर्द्, ह्वेवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेघ, क्रोध, व्रण, वंश, वश, इम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, क्रीष, क्षप, मर, रज, दीपद्, चरद् .

The द् in नद्द् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पञ्चादि class is an आकृतिगणः .

अङ्गिधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पञ्चादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपञ्चादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधज्ञाप्तीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ज्ञा-प्ती-किरः,

कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानाते. प्रीणातेः किरत्तेभ्य कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', मी 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विज्ञिप्+क=विज्ञिप nom. sing. विज्ञिपः. So also विज्ञिखः 'inscription'; कुषः 'who knows'; कुशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क=ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); मी+क=

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कृ + क = कि + अ (VII. I. 100) = किर + अ (I. I. 51) = किरः
'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पञ्चविहि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. I. 40, and debars the affix ए. Thus प्रस्था + क = प्रस्थ + अ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुग्लै + क = सुग्ल + अ = सुग्लः 'very weary' (आ substituted for ऐ by VI. I. 45.) सुग्लै + क = सुग्ल + अ = सुग्लः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhahātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ

पाघ्राध्मा धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-ध्मा-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघृत्तेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्मा 'to blow', धेट् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + श = उत् + पिब् + अ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिब् nom. sing. उत्पिब् ; so also विपिब् ; उज्जिघ्रूः and विजिघ्रूः । उत् + ध्मा + श = उत् + धम् + अ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उद्धम् ; विधम् ; उत् + धे + श = उद्धयः ; विधयः ; so also उत् + दृश् + श = उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārva dhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि + आ + घ्रा + क = व्याघ्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गोल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च
१३८॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति
साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गंभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द् and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्प: 'smearing'; विन्द्: 'acquiring'; धारय: 'holding'; पारय: 'ferrying'; वेद्य: 'knowing'; उदेजय: 'shaking'; चेतय: 'perceiving'; सातय:, and साहय:.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिय here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द् when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्द 'Kṛishṇa' (protector of cows); भरविन्द: 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्यो
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञो धात्रश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without preposition.

This debars ए. Thus दद: 'giving'; or दाद्य: 'inheritance'; दध: 'holding'; धाद्य: 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उज्जलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उज्जल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यो
णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्जलीतावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा णप्रत्ययः भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उज्जल् 'shine' and ending with कस् 'to go', when used without preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed.

The word इति in उविति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhavadī* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupāṭha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Sidhānta Kaumudī.

This debars the affix अच्; as उवान्; or उवलन्; चालन्; or चलन्.

The affix ए (अ) having an indicatory एन् causes the vridhhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ए is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रउवलन्: 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ए; as अवतान्. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्यधातुसंस्तृतीयावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ए is employed after the following verbs also :—श्यै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्यै, before affixes, becomes श्या, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ए. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', श्यायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्यधः 'pain', आस्तावः 'wound', संस्तावः 'flow', अत्यायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', जेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेर्न्यसेश्चानुपसर्गे एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ए is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus दु+ण=दौ + भ (VII. 2. 115) = दावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी+ण=नी+अ=नायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रवृत्तः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह्+ण = ग्रह्+भ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह्+अच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह् when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह्+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasāraṇa*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिखनिरस्त्रिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (अक) comes after a verb, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+ष्वुन् = नर्त+अक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by pre-fixes having indicatory ष् form their feminine gender by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रञ्ज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृन् and खन्. According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix कुन्. Thus रञ्ज + कुन् = रज् + वृ (VI. 4. 37) = रज् + अक (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजका.

गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेस्थकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गायते 'to sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गै + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

ग्युट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्युट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते ग्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix ग्युट् is also employed after the verb गै 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गै + ग्युट् = गा + अन (VII. 1. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the य is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गै is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and ग्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of ग्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (ग्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्ब्रीहीतेश्च धातोर्ग्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix ग्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and निहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + ग्युट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihāte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udatta on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

**मुस्र(सु)एवः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मु-स्र-(सु)-एवः
समभिहारे, वुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मु स्र (सु) लूङ्स्थितेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs मु 'to go', स्र 'to move', सु 'to flow' and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, मु + वुन् = मो + अक (VII. 1. 1) = प्रवकः ; so also, सरकः, स्रवकः, and लवव

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed when the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवकः 'may he live' ; नन्त्रकः 'may he be happy'.

The word *आशिषि* means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

ओ३म् अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

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कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीज्जिकामिभ्याञ्चरिभ्यो ण्. पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिभ्याञ्चरिभ्यो ण्. वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix **अण्** comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here घृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डलावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डलावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरलावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

Vart:—The affix **ण** comes after the verbs शीज्, कान्, भक्ष् and आचर् and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीजः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीजा ; मांसकानः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचरः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ।

Vart:—The affix ए comes after the roots ईक्ष 'to look' and क्षम् 'to for-bear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा 'expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा 'much forbearing'.

हावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, मः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व्, वेच्, माङ्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्रस्व 'to call', वेच् 'to weave', माङ् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं + ह्र + अण् = स्वर्गं + हा + अ = स्वर्गं + हाय + अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गहायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicative ए or म follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long अ'). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गः कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गः, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्; as गां + दा + क = गां + द + अ = गोदः 'Giver of cows', (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64.)= So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket'; पार्श्वरक्षम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलित्रम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', वडवसंदाय 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = समं तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

- (1) सूप्ति ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पिवति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always protects its mouth by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
- (2) सुप्तिथिः ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्या when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्या also ends in a long आ ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुत्थानम् = आखूतः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शूलभोतः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow: *vis*: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
परिमृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आज्ञस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज् आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुद्ः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिमृज् is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुद्ः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनुद्ः means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुच्चः 'a bow', काकगृह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (को मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातेर्ज्ञानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गोसंहाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, ख्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् ; as गोसंख्य (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संचष्टे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिवतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीधोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्सि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गै 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvṛtti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvṛtti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क ; of this affix ट् and क् are indicators the ट् showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV 1. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र + गा + टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakre hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sāma', fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

Vart.—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीघ्र as its object.

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी wine-bibber; शीधुषः fem. शीधुषी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe शीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अण्; as शक्रसंगायः, सामसंगायः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिर्लागजां कुशयष्टिर्तोमरपट्टघटी धनुषु ग्रहंरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेच धार्यये ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृन् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus रगं हरति = अंशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्थहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = ए + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84)

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यष्टि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट्ट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिमहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलमहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशमहः 'an elephant driver', यष्टिमहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरमहः 'a club-bearer', घट्टमहः, घटीमहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुमहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रमहः 'a thread-bolder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रमाहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मेणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **हञ्** when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb **हञ्** has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word **वयस्** means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place; as **अस्थिहरः** 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up); **कवचहरः** 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear') the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

**आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-
रते, अच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् रूर्वाद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **हञ्** (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition **आच्**, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word **ताच्छील्यं** means a natural inclination or habitual occupation, as **पुष्पाहरः** (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers'; so also **फलाहरः** ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination'? Otherwise the affix will be **अण्**; as **भारमाहरति** = **भारमाहरः** 'who brings load'.

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजायां, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **अर्ह** 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars **अण्**. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As **पूजार्हा** 'deserving of respect'; so also **गन्धार्या**, **माजार्हा** ।

**स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमि-
जपोः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्णं इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्धयासंख्यं रमिजपोर्भात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इदित्सूत्रकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रन् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्ब 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रन् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvritti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvritti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्बेरमते = स्तम्बेरम्: 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्बे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्भुपदरे धातुमात्रासंज्ञायां विनये ऽच्चात्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम् + कृ + भच् = शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभवः संवद्ः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvritti from sūtra III. 1. 91 ? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix इ, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix इ, when शम् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20) The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been इ, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुप्, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वद्विषूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ डच्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **शी** 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word **सूप** (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As **खे शोते = खगयः** 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix **अच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the words **पार्श्व** 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as **पार्श्वभ्यां शोते = पार्श्वगयः** 'who reclines on his sides', **उदरगयः** 'who lies on his stomach', **पृष्ठगयः** 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb **शी** is preceded by the word **दिग्धसह**; as **दिग्धेन सह शोते = दिग्धसहगयः** ॥

Vart.—So also when the words **उत्तान** &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As **उत्तानः शोते = उत्तानगयः** । **भवमूर्द्धां शोते = भवमूर्द्धागयः** ।

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix **डच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the word **गिरि** in the locative. As **गिरौ शोते = गिरिशः** 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter **ड** of **डच्** is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix **ट** comes after the verb **चर** 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhiakarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As **कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus'. **मद्रचरः** 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix **ट** the real affix is **भ**, the letter **ट** being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix **ङीप्**. (See. IV. 1. 14), as **कुरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी** ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,

व, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms) ; सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army' ; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोग्रतोऽग्रेषु सत्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सत्तेः,

(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सत्तेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्र, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सत्तेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सत्तेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb च 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कजो हेतुताच्छीलानुलोभ्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कजः, हेतु-ता-शील्य-आनुलोभ्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्धातोऽप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोभ्ये च गम्यमाने ।

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृम् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुलोम्य comes from अनुलोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं धन 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have श्राद्धकरः 'who performs obsequies'; अर्थकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुलोम्य, we have प्रेषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिखि-
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्र संख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहयैतदुनुररुष्णु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ।
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिखि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुष्णु, (कर्मणि, सुप्, करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽन्विधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भाः 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नाञ्ज 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिखि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अरुष्णु 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the upapada, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकर 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकरः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'the

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जह्वाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुष्करः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, यत्, तद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ङ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the भञादि class (Sec IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भृतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृतौ, (कर्मणि, करोतेः,

टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मयाचिन् करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix ङ comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ङ does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ङ being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who fomented quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakṛitee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāthā'.

स्तम्बशकृतीरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (कर्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीहिवस्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरि. ; so also शकृत् + कृ + इन् = शकृत्करि.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरि. means 'rice', and शकृत्करि., 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix अण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः, पशौ, (कर्मेणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्नातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb दृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरि. 'a dog' (a carrier of skin) ; नाथहरि. 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अण् is employed ; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मरुभरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मरुभरिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मरुभरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मरुभरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word **आत्मभरिः** is formed by adding the augment **मुम्** (म्) to the upapada **आत्म**, and the affix **इन्** to the verb **भृञ्**. Thus **आत्मानं विभक्तिं = आत्मभरिः** 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As **कुक्षिभरिः** 'gluttonous, selfish' (eager to feed his own belly). **उदरभरिः** 'gluttonous, selfish'.

छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमयाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-मयाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन सभक्तौ, रक्ष पाजने, मय विजोडने, एतस्य कर्तव्यपत्रे छन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix **इन्** comes after the verbs **वन्** 'to honor' **सन्** 'to worship' **रक्ष्** 'to protect' and **मय्** 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus **श्रद्धेर्वनि रुवा क्षयवनिम्** (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); **उत नो गोवनिं** (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) **ये ते प्रानो पथिरक्षः** (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) **इन्द्रा यातूनामभवत्**, **भारगरो हविर्मयीनाम्** (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एम् कम्पने हरयस्माद् प्यन्तारत्नकर्तव्यपत्रे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातगुनीतिजशब्देऽवजधेद् तुवजशब्तेनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix **खश्** comes after the verb **एज्** 'to tremble' when ending in **णि** (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of **एज्**. Of the affix **खश्** the letters **ख्** and **श्** are indicatory, the real affix is **अ**. The **ख्** indicates that the augment **मुम्** is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The **श्** indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like **शप्** &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus **अङ्गमेजयति = अङ्गमेजयः** (अङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = अङ्गम् + एजे + अ + अ) 'who awes the limbs'; **जनमेजयः** 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix **खश्** comes after the verbs **अज्** 'to go', **धेद्** 'to suck', **तुद्** 'to strike', **हा** 'to leave' when in composition with the words **वात** 'wind', **शुनं** 'a bitch', **तिल** 'sesamum' and **शर्द्धं** 'flatulence'. As **वातमजाः सुगाः** 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); **शुनिन्धयः** 'a bitch-sucker'; **तिजंतुद्** 'an oilman'; **शर्द्धंछहा** 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long **ई** of **शुनी** is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

**नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेतोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः
ध्मा-धेतोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेतोर्धात्वोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायांतु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तन 'breast' are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathâsankhyâ* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + मुम् + धे + शप् + खश् = स्तन + म् + धय् + भ + भ) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका + ध्मा + खश् = नासिक + म् + धम + भ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathâsankhyâ* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84 the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनन्धयः is स्तनन्धयी, as the verb धे has an indicative द्.

**नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणोः,
ध्मा-धेतोः, खश्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेतोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathâsankhyâ*; for मुष्टि being a चि ought to have stood first (II 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि चोत्तरीष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,

(खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गो, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्भजति = कूलमुद्भजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्ग्रहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहाश्रे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अश्रे, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अश् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः लिहैर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अश् 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अश् लिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थापि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचैः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थं पचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also द्रोणम्पचः, खारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पचैः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विधुअरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि,

खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुश् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः तुदैर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृत् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or अरुस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुः राहुः 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon ; अरुन्तुः 'corrosive wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मुन् after the word अरुस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयो-
दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मेणि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खच् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + खच् = असूर्यम्पश्यः ; as असूर्यम्पश्या राजद्वारा 'the king's wife not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the forehead' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य'. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येरस्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-
इरस्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरस्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरस्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking' ; इरया मयति = इरस्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थान 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्वर्धत्तोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमैः सुप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह खच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिङ्गा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहावेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to speak' when मिच or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus मिचं वच्ति=मिचंवच्: 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवच्: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of मिच and वश with वच्, the affix खच् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खच्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितगनो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant':

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम.

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योस्तापेर्भातिः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb तप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhū*ādi, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of तप्; while in *Chur*ādi, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in feminine gender. In this case the general affix अण् will be employed; द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः ।

वाचि यसो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्)

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गन्धमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यम 'curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharmasāstra. Thus वाचंयम आसत् 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restrained speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोदारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहे

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरं सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भगो च दारिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'split' and सह 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb सह as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषे कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ्र-करीष

कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वं कूलं अभ्रं करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कषेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष 'rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अभ्र 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकषा नदी 'a river'; अभ्रकषो हि 'a mountain'; करीषकषा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कजः,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds'; ऋतिंकरः 'giving pain'; भयंकरः 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vartika* under I. I. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयकरः 'who cause security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेण च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अण्, च,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्रे इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेरणप्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्रे 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness'; मद्रेकारः or मद्रेंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix इ of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई; as अल्पात्मभाः रमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-

भावयोः, (खच्, सुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चायं खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुप्' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितं भवती भवेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृतृवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां
भृ-तृ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, सुप्ति, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तृ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययं भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz भृ 'to bear', तृ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer' धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वंभरा 'earth' (the which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिंवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुंजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुंसहः 'Satrunsaḥ' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुंतपः 'Satrunṭapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुप्ति, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुत्युपपत्तेः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvṛtti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अध्वम्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपठेषु गमेर्डेप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वभपञ्चबोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उरसो ज्ञोपध ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोक्षे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्वेष्यपि कृत्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', भवन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; भवगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; ईगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving on ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गम् + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called भ (VI. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are ईग 'everywhere' and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वज्ञगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'snake'.

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गम् + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निगः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्थगारगः (स्त्री + भगार + गम् + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुहृत्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शरावाहनोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि सति च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word शब्द 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शब्द आहन्ति = शब्दाघाटः (शब्द + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vartika*: as चारवाघाटः or चारवाघातः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हन्, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्दन्त्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्हनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, हनिः, (हन्ः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्हनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix हनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+इन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कृषातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघातकृषातिन् 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्.

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः,

ह, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्लक्षणेवतिकर्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नः 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ह् and क् are indicatory. The ह् shows that the feminine is formed by ह्, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक् = जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, नः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानाद्वन्तेर्द्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नो पाण्डुरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. श्लेष्मघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पिशघ्नं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe सुपातः शूद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix **टक्** not employed in the following? **शौरघातो हस्ते**, 'an elephant' (*i. e.* who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix **अण्** on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kṛtya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *kṛit* affix.

**शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-
(वा)टयोः, (हनः, टक्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानायां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपद्योर्हन्ते टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix **टक्** comes after the verb **हन्** 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is **हस्ती** 'elephant' or **कपाट** 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As **हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः** = **हस्तिघ्नः** मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also **कपाटघ्नः** 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe **विशेषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति** = **हस्तिघातः** 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is **अण्**.

**पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येनौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words **पाणिघ** and **ताडघ** are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix **क** is employed after the verb **हन्** in composition with **पाणि** 'hand' and **ताड** 'a blow' as object; then the *ṭi* portion of **हन्** *i. e.* **अन्** is elided, and **ह** is changed into **घ** irregularly. Thus **पाणि + हन् + क = पाणि + ह् + अ = पाणिघः** 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); **ताडघः** 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe **पाणिघातः** 'boxing'; **ताडघातः** 'hammering'.

Vart.—The word **राजघः** should be enumerated in this connection; **राजघः** 'a regicide'.

**आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च व्यर्थेऽवस्थौ रुजः करो
ष्यन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढ्य-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, चिन्-अ-
र्थेषु, अश्वौ, रुजः, करोषे, श्यन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु ऋयर्थेऽवच्छेदयन्तेषु करोतेर्दातोः करणे कारके ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूज 'big', पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and मिय 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि, though not actually ending in the affix च्चि.

The affix च्चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in च्चि and words not ending in च्चि. Both may have the force of च्चि. [In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्चि, but have the force of च्चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आढ्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्य + कर् + अन् = आढ्यकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूजकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पलितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नग्नकरणम् 'making naked'; अन्धकरणम् 'making blind'; मियकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्चि'? Otherwise अण्यं तैलेन कुर्वन्ति i. e. अभ्यञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्चि'? Observe आढयी षन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट्; both having the efficient portion यु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्चि? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the aporisms that follow'.

Pātanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between ल्युट् and ल्युन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्तम्, ईक्, भक् and ल्युन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तरुन् and तलन्. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुन्. For it being an indeclinable, मुन् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः खिण्णुच्छ्लुकजौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
खिण्णुच्-श्लुकजौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु ल्युट्यर्थेऽल्युट्यन्तेषु भवतेर्द्धातोः कर्तरि कारके खिण्णुच्-
श्लुकम् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिण्णुच् and श्लुकम्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आढ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix ल्ठि though not ending in ल्ठि.

Thus आढ्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आढ्य-
म्भावुकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming big'; पलितम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of ल्ठि, otherwise not; as आढ्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in ल्ठि; आढ्यो भविता।

स्पृशोऽनुदके किन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, किन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशोर्धातोर्ननुदक्तेषु वन्त उपपदे किन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix किन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक् 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुप्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुप्ति, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

ch verbs, the anuvritti of कर्त्तुं ought to come by sūtra 4' ? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुप्ति in this case ; because the word स्ति of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश् + क्तिन् + सु = स्पृग् + त् + ० (VI. I. 68) = स्पृक् + ० (VI. I. 67, and VIII. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns' ; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृग् ; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of क्तिन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely क्ति, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used क्ति प्रत्ययस्थ ; and it would have been ambiguous, for क्ति might be explained as meaning both क्ति and क्तिप्, as क्य means क्यप्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (I. I. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रग्दिग्गुष्णिग्चुयुजिक्कुञ्चान् च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

त्विक्-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-कुञ्चान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चरात्राः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो धातवो निर्विश्रयन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', द्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a constellation' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् ; and so also after the verbs अञ्च् 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुञ्च् 'to approach', the affix क्तिन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋत् + यञ् + क्तिन् = ऋत्विक् 'who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्)'. This word, however is a कृति word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + क्तिन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. दृग् + क्तिन् = द्रक्. Here there is augment अन्. दृग् + क्तिन् = दिक्. So also उन् + क्तिन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix क्तिन् comes after the three roots यञ्, अञ्च्, and कुञ्च्. Be-; read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिन् to these verbs. Thus the affix क्तिन् comes after अञ्च् only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in apposition. As प्र + अञ्च् + क्तिन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24 ; VII. I. 70, II. 2. 23 and 62) 'east' ; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west' ; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix **किन्** comes after **युजिर्** and **क्रुञ्** when these are uncombined. Thus **युज् + किन् = युज्**. In nominative singular, **युज् + सु = युज् + स्** (VII. 1. 71) = **युज् + ०** (VI. 1. 68) = **युज्** (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root **युज्** is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix **किप्** (see sūtra 61). As **अध्वक्** 'yoked with horses'.

So also **क्रुञ् + किन् = क्रुञ्**, nom. sing. **क्रुञ्**, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the **ञ** (VI. 4. 24) of **क्रुञ्** is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (किन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रयरादीषूपपदेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचनेऽर्थे वर्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् किन्च ॥

60. And the affix **कञ्** comes after the verb **इद्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **रयद्** &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the **किन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **रयद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus **रयाद्** nom. sing. **रयाद्**, 'such-like' when it is formed by **किन्**; and **रयादृशः** 'such-like' when the affix is **कञ्**. So also **तद् + दृश् + किन् = तादृश्** (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. **तादृश्** (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and **तादृशः** when **कञ्** is the affix. So **याद्** or **यादृशः** 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter **म्** of **कञ्**? It is for the sake of accent; the *udātta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative **म्** or **न्** (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative **न्** would have given the same accent, there being no difference between **कञ्** and **कन्** in this respect. The indicative **म्** then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix **कञ्** from **कन्** in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which **कम्** is taken and not **कन्**. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for **कञ्करण्** of that sūtra, we should have read **कन् करप्** so that the feminine of words formed by **कन्** would have also taken long **ई**, so that the feminine of **यावक्तः** (**याव + कन्** V. 4. 29) would have been **यावक्ती** instead of **यावका**.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See **तं पश्यति = तदर्थः** 'who sees that'. The words **रयाद्**, **तादृश्** &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words **समान** and **अन्य** are in composition with **दृश्**. 'As **सदृक्** or **सदृशः** 'like' (**समान + दृश् + किन् = स + दृश्** VI. 3. 89), so also **अन्यादृशः** or **अन्यादृक्** 'of another kind'.

Vart.—The affix क्स comes also after the root वृश्. As तावृक्षः, यावृक्षः, अन्यावृक्षः and कीवृक्षः। तद्+वृश्+क्स = ता+वृश्+क्स (VI. 3. 91.) = तावृष्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तावृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) = तावृक्+ष (VIII. 3. 59) = तावृक्षः।

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप् ॥
६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-छिद-जि-नी-राजाम्,
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्तिप्, (सुप्ति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहासिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्तिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz.:—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', वृह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्म is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i.e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष shows that अशक्ति class verb is meant here, and not तुल्यदि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicative कृ (विदन्) while all these verbs have indicative अ.

Thus, सत्—गुचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; अन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kāth. 5. 2); जसत् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'patent'. द्विष—मित्रद्विद् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विद् 'hostile'. द्रुह—मित्रद्रुक् 'treacherous'; प्रद्रुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). वृह—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). यज्—अधयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानी 'leader of an army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there of an army) प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ए in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral ए in

sûtra V 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have लृ, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विद् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो शिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, शिवः, (उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजोर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix ण्वि comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As अर्द्धं भजतु = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, शिवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix ण्वि comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As तुर+सह्+ण्वि = तुरसाह् nom. sing. तुरसाद् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ढ by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of तुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, शिवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहोर्भातोः छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix ण्वि comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्टवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्टवाद् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, दित्यवाद् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ऽयुट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ऽयुट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहोर्भातोऽयुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ऽयुट् comes after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitrīs*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

हव्येजनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, वहः, व्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यवाह उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहर्धातोऽर्थ्युत्पत्त्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वहि-
र्बन्ते ॥

66. The affix व्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix ण्व (sūtra 64). As हव्यवाद्, अग्निर्नरः [पता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्पत्त्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गं and सुप्ति are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अज्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन् — गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा असि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन् — विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपखाः 'digger of well'. From क्रम् — दधिक्रा 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम् — अमेगा वज्रदृणाम् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवेर्भातोऽनन्ने सुव्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus आममन्ति = आमात् 'eating raw food'; शस्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नाद्: 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अवेर्भातोर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमन्ति = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्याद् which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्याद्: means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्याद्: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under वृषोदरादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कश्चश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-चः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्भातोः सुव्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कानदुधा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्धदुधा, धनदुधा ।

संज्ञे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञे,
श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, णिवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतयो णिवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां उत्पद्यतेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix णिवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix णिवन् comes after the verb वह्, preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवा. 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix णिवन् is applied to the verb शंस 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्त्यानि उक्थैर्वा शंसति = उक्थशस्, nom. sing. उक्थशाः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The णिवन् is applied after the verb दातृ 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द् is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति दत्तं = पुरोडाश्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment उत् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the pada affixes follow. Thus before pada terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवहस्. Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment उत् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (णिवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्णिवन्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix णिवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अच्.

As अवयाञ्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as एवं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया अस्ति 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	sing	dual	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां,	अवयोभिः

विशुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेच्छंसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयङ्मिच्छन् वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvritti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called चि (which includes क्तिन्, क्तिप्, णिच्, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपुक्तस्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

आतो मनिन्क्कनिट्ठनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकारादिर्जापि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), कनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुहा + मनिन् = सुहामन्, 1st. sing. सुहामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthāman'; सुधा + कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + कनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + हा + वनिप् = भूरिहावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिहावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन्, 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाज + पा + विच् = कीलाजपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंवाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्योपवाः 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, गतिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते, एच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long ā.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + भृ 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्भन्, 1st. sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i. e. destroys sin or ignorance'. तर् + इ 'to go' + क्वनिप् = प्रातर् + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरिक्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरिक्वा 'he goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. जावा 'who brings forth'. अग्रं गावा 'who goes before'. रिष् + विच् = रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेड् 'who injures'; as in रेडसि पर्णे नये (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वे धातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखायाः कंसते = उखावत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णेभ्यन् 'falling on the leaves'; वाहाव् भ्रयति = वाहाभ्रग, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रत् 'falling from a car'. The latter is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्यः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्भातोः सुव्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This petition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sūtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sūtra III. 2. 4, and the present sūtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्यः and शंस्थाः । But for this sūtra, this form could not have been evolved ; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb स्थ् would have taken the affix भञ् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ शिनिस्ताच्छीत्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ, शिनिः, ताच्छीत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छीत्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिभयामाङि सत्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुञ् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus' ? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brāhmanas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed' ? Witness उष्णं भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनायित्, अनुजोविन्, उपजोविन्, &c.:

Vart.—The verb भाह् in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः ।

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker' ; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन्, in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (शिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्ग इव क्रोशति = उद्गक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; ध्वंस-
रविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव
भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *māṣa* like *apūpa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and
hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there
will be no composition. As उद्गः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the
accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमाने सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in com-
position with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scrip-
tures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed
word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada,
and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare
ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अश्राद्धभोजिन्
'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Śrāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is
no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78 applicable when habit is
not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely
when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous
practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As
कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय +
पा + णिनि = कषाय + पा + युक् + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिण उशीनाराः 'the
people of Uśināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of
Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in
other places, as in the following :—कुन्माषखाः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुप्ति, खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुब्रूत उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix णिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खग् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa. i. e., in the 4th conjugation इवन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्च, (खिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानान्मन्यतेः सुव्युपपदे खग्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराण्णिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खग् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix णिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यज्जदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खग् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and it makes it a sârvadhâtuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने लङिति यावत्, यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रान्त्यामः भूत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an *adhikāra* or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose *anuvritti* is also understood throughout the subsequent *sūtras*; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the *sūtra*, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनैववाञ् = अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishtōma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishtōma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The *anuvritti* of णिनि and not of खञ् is to be read into this *sūtra*. As अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishtōma.' Here Agnishtōma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मेणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मेणि उपपदं हन्तर्धातोः णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते कान्ते ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पितृव्यघातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलघातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन् + णिनि = घन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = घन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = घातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The *anuvritti* of the word कर्मेणि of this aphorism extends up to *sūtra* II. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूषणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूषण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, कर्मेणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'Brâhmana', भ्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmana'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyama*. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्मार्पितवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हन्तिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhmana'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वल्, छन्दसि, (हन्, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांस्तरेपि हन्तर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः ।

सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुरयेषु रुजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुरयेषु, रुजः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:—सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures ; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The कृत् is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुतः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्नाख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्या-याम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारकं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upa-pada and the affix. As **रुधनचित्** 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; **कङ्कचित्** 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word **आख्या** indicates that these words are **rudhi** words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called **रुधनचित्**, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणान्तर्धातोरनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix **इनि** comes after the compound verb **विकृ** 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word **कर्मणि** in the sūtra, though its *anuvritti* might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As **सोमविक्रयिन्** 'the seller of soma plant'; **रसविक्रयिन्** 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in **धान्यविक्राय** 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः कनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, कनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix **क्वनिप्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As **मेरुदृशन्**, 1st. sing. **मेरुदृश्व** 'who has seen the Meru'. **परलोकदृश** 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix **क्वनिप्** was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिरुजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-रुजः, (कर्मणि, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यते करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix **क्वनिप्** comes after the verbs **युध्** 'to fight' and **कृ** 'to make' with a past signification when the word **राजन्** 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb **युध्**, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the **णिप्** affix latent. As **राजयुध्वन्**, 1st. sing. **राजयुध्वा** (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; **राजकृष्वन्**, 1st. sing. **राजकृष्व** (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, रुजः, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहसहने चोपपदे युधिक्रमोद्भातोः क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्ङः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ङ = ज् + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अयेना मानवी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुननुजा 'a girl born after the male child *i. e.* a girl having an elder brother'; रुच्यमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child *i. e.* a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्दे. प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = भजः 'unborn'; द्विजातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ब्राह्मणजो धर्मः; क्षत्रियजं युद्धम्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round *i. e.* hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100, 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after *i. e.* younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तवत्तु तिष्ठत्युक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes क्त and क्तवत्तु are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + क्त = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + क्तवत्तु = कृतवत्, 1st sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Vart.—The Nishthā affixes come when ādi-karma is meant. For fuller description of what constitutes ādi-karma see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः।

सुयजोऽङ्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजतेश्च ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ङ्वनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुत्वन् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The व् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरवृन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अवृन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरवृन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अवृन् comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ + अवृन् = जर + भवत् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तो, 1st pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासकूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishṭhā affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान्। जृ + क्त = जरि + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जरि + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यम्भयतो दृशो 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवापृथिवीं भाततान् 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words दृशो and आततान् have the force of nishṭhā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṇ*, *lan* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानच्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानजादेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं निषवान् 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपुषाण् 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvritti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तूजान् (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जन्तिवस् 1st. sing. जन्तिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105. अहं सूर्यमुभयतो दृष्टं.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सद्वसश्चुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-वस-श्चुवः, (लिटः, क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सद्वसश्चु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्व, वस् and शु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासीदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद.

So also अनुषिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्वशासीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनुवसत्.

So also उपगृभुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपाश्रौषीत्, उपाश्रूणीत् and उपशुभाव.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लृङ् and लङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67. and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+क्वसु = उपेयिवस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (अ) where वस् is changed into उप्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः; instrumental sing. उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus सनीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvriti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागान्, Imperfect उपैत्, Perfect उपेयाय ।

The word अनाध्वान् is thus formed :—To the verb अगृ 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix क्वसु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+अगृ+क्वसु = अनाध्वस्, 1st. sing. अनाध्वान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाग्रीत्, Imperfect नाग्रीत् and Perfect नाग्र.

The word अनुवान् is thus derived :—The affix कान्व is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्ववोचत्, Imperfect अन्वव्रीत्, Perfect अनुवाच.

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्भातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसत्तर्लुङ् रात्रिशेषे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'. Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अहर्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart.—The affix लृङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लृङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुत्रावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुत्रावसम्.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुत्रावसम्.

अनद्यतने लृङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतं यं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लृङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लृङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As भय ह्यो वा भुञ्जमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लृङ्.

Vart.—The affix लृङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अहणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अहणद् यवनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदिश्वः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कटः देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिज्ञानासि वैवदत् कश्मीरेषु वरस्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानासि वैवदत् यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-प्रत्ययोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानासि वैवदत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून्

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तुन् पिबाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोज्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुञ्जमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापन्हवे च लिङ्वक्तव्यः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs, this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किञ्च विललाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गं गच्छामि ? नाहं कलिङ्गं गगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं दक्षिणापथं प्रविशाम 'did you go to the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'.

हृशश्वतोर्लिङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लिङ्, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिङि प्राप्ते हृशश्वतोरुपपद्योर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारास्मिद् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles ह and श्वच् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. श्वच्करोत् or श्वच्चकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छयमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लङ् लिटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in his sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् देवदत्तः or हयाज वदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जयान कंच किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Hansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपत्तेर्भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This bars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishthira sacrificed'; also नत्नेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्याया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father' ; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रथपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛtti of the words 'anadyatana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लुङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त ?—ननु करोमि भोः 'Deva datta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. अवोचस्तत्र किञ्चिद् देवदत्त, — न ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षीः माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशाब्दे नुशाब्दे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम् ;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लुङ्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvritti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvritti is technically called *manduka-pluri* 'the leap of a frog' i.e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, अवात्सुः पुरा छात्राः ; Imperfect, भवसन्निह पुरा छात्राः ; Perfect, कृपुरिह पुरा छात्राः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा बुधिशिरः 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरब्धोऽपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानच्चावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शतृ-शानच्, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानच्चाविव्येतावादेशो भवतः अप्रथमान्वेन चेतस्य सामानाधि करण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ माह्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम्' 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच्=पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)=पच्+अ+मुक्+भान (VII. 2. 82)=पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शद=पच्+अ+अत्=पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = अस्ति ब्राह्मणः ; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुहत् and जुहोति ; and अभीयानः and जघीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the participle *माह्* is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As *मा पचन्* and *मा पचमान* 'may he not cook' ; *मा जीवन् यः परावृत्तादुःखदग्धोऽपि जीवति* 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvritti of the word 'option' from *sūtra* 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāśhā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

125. The affixes *शत्* and *शानच्* are the substitutes of *लट्* even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as *हे पचन्* or *हे पचमान* 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानच्चावशौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्यानम् च ॥

126. The affixes *शत्* and *शानच्* are the substitutes of *लट्* and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word *लक्षण* means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; *हेतु* means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word *क्रिया*. Of *lakshana* :—as, *शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः* 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. *तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः* । Of *hetu* :—as *हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते* 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; *अधीयानो वसति* 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe *पचति* 'he cooks' ; *पठति* 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As *यः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः* 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; *यदुद्भवते तत्सर्वम्* 'whatever floats is light' ; *यत्तिष्ठति तद्गुरु* 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, *योऽधीयान् भास्ते स देवदत्तः* 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart.—This participle is also used to state a general truth : as *शयानं वर्धते दूर्वा* 'the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position'; *भासीनं वर्धते विसं* 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound *लक्षणहेत्तवोः* of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शत्-शानचौ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शत्शानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शत् and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name ; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above ; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus *ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः* ।

The word सत् occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गो यजेथ धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शत्रुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As *पवमानः* 'purifier (fire or air)'; *यजमानः* 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ज्ञ, as शत् and शानच्? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ज्ञ, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ज्ञ, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ज्ञ, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as *पिबं पवमानः* 'drinking Soma'; and *नडमाप्नानः*? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ज्ञ. The term हन् in sūtra II 3. 69. is not the affix हन् taught in this Chapter sūtra 35; but it is a *pratyādhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyādhāra* formed by taking the ह् of शत् in sūtra 124; and न् of हन् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शत् in 134 down to हन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानच् &c. are not substitutes of ज्ञ, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term हन्.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शत्. As *घोरस्य* or *चौरं द्विषन्*, 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानेश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानेश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु धातोश्चानेश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानेश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निग्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्तृह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्येयमानाः, शिखण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः.

इङ्धार्योः शत्रुरुच्छिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शत्रु-
अकृच्छिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारश्च धात्वोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत्रु comes after the verbs इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छ्र means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अर्थायन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारयन् उपनिषद् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb द्विष when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तौ 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तोऽभिषेवे वर्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word **यज्ञसंयोग** is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (**संयोग**) with sacrifice. As **सु + नु + शब्** (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = **सुनु + शब्** (I. 2. 4.) = **सुन्वत्** (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. **सुन्वन्**, 1st. pl. **सुन्वन्त**, 'the sacrificers'; as in **सर्वे सुन्वन्तः** 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word **संयोग** indicates that the principal sacrificer, i. e. the **यजमान** is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as **याज्ञकाः** 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have **सुनोति सुराम्** 'he distils liquor'.

अहं: प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं:, प्रशंसायाम्, (शब्)
वृत्तिः ॥ अहंतेर्द्धातोः प्रशंसायां शब्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **शब्** comes after the verb **अहं** in expressing praise.

As **अहंनिह भवान्विद्याम्** 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; **अहंनिह भवान्वृजाम्** 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness **अहंति चौरा वधम्** 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्लेशच्छीलतदुर्मेतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्लेः, तच्छील-तदुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्लेशशब्दाद्यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिभ्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as **क्लिप्** in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of **आ** in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes **क्लिप्** also. The term **तच्छील** means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term **तदुर्मे** means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term **तत्साधुकारि** means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तन् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन्, (तच्छील-तदुर्मे-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यश्चनप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तन्निधावृत्तिश्च आनुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः पुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शिवधेर्वतायामकारश्चोपधाया अनिट्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्वे नि युक्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्वसि दृक् च ॥

135. The affix **हन्** comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The **न्** of **हन्** is indicative, and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197).
कृ + हन् = **कर्तृ**, 1st sing. **कर्ता**. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, **व कशन्** 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, **मृण्डयितारः श्राविष्टायना भव वधूमृताम्** 'the family of Srāvishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; **अन्नं हर्षारि आह्वरका भवन्ति आद्रे सिद्धे** 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; **उज्जैतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रं ज्ञाते** 'the Taulvalāyana become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, **कर्त्ता कटम्** 'skilful maker mats'. **गन्ताः श्वेदम्** 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix **हन्**, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As **हु + हन्** = **होतृ**, 1st. sing. **होता** 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also **पोतृ** 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe **उद्गृ** 'the *Udgātri* priest'; **प्रतिहर्तृ** 'the *Pratihatri* priest'. Here the affix is **हृ**. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; **हन्** places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197), while **हृच्** places it on the last (VI. 1. 163).

Vart:—The augment **षुक्** is added when **नी** takes the affix **हन्**; as **+षुक् + हन्** = **नेष्टृ**, 1st. sing. **नेष्टा** 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying diety, the verb **त्विष्** takes **हन्**; the letter **अ** substitutes for the **इ** of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate **इद्** augment; as, **त्विष् + हन्** = **त्वष्टृ**, 1st. sing. **त्वष्टा** 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:—The root **क्षर** takes **हन्**, when the word to be formed means officer; as **क्षर** 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:—In the Veda, the root **क्षर** takes **हृच्** as **क्षर**. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृञ् निराकृञ् प्रजनौत्पचोत्पतेऽन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृत्तुवृधुसहच इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृञ्-निराकृञ्-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत-उन्मद-रुचि-अपत्रप-वृत्तु-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृञ्चादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृञ्मण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुड्वक्यः ॥

136. The affix **इष्णुच्** comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c' viz.—**अलंकृ** 'to adorn', **निराकृ** 'to expel', **प्रजन्** 'to be born', **उत्पच** 'to be ripe', **उत्पत** 'to fly', **उन्मद** 'to be mad', **रुच्** 'to shine', **अपत्र** 'to be ashamed', **वृन्** 'to be', **वृध्** 'to grow', **सह्** 'to bear' and **चर्** 'to walk'.

As भर्त्तृकरिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्तरनिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पतिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मदिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', भयवपिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart:—The affix इष्णुच् debars by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलङ्, though it has the sense of decorating'.

शेषछंदसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः, छंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As दृषवँ भारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones' ; वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छंदसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as, भ्राजिष्णुना ज्योतिष्यन्नेन ।

ग्लानिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्लानि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लानि स्थान् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकारात् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वंगोश्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्लानि 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्थान् 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लान्स्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थान्स्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable' ; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvritti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of स्था, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्त्वि (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (क्त्वि च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्ः क्ति), the augment इद् does not come after the verb स्तु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vari.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite' as वंशणवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

असिगृधिधृषिषिषेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ असि-गृधि-धृषि-षि-षि-क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असाक्षिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs असि 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, अस्तुः 'trembling'; गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold'; and क्षिप्नुः 'throw'

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो चिनुण् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अट्टा-चिनुण्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमाक्षिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु चिनुण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix चिनुण् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with म् in the list of verbs. Of the affix चिनुण् the affix is इन्, the other letters are servile; the च is for the sake of substitution for the final palatals; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of the rule VI. 3. 45; and the letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 116); which in the case of roots ending in म् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vriddhi being मङ् ।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमी 'desiring'; लमी 'tame'; लमी 'laborious'; अमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; क्लमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; मादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मङ् takes the ण्, it also takes the affix चिनुण् by the rule of वासक्य (III. 1. 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs of these eight, we have other affixes; as असिष्ठा.

संपृचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिस्संसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिट
रिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरा-
प्राभ्याहनञ्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यस-आङ्यस-परिस्-
संसृज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-
द्रुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविच - त्यज - रज - भज - अतिचर - अपचर - आमुष - अभ्याहनः,
१, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz. :— सम्पृच्, अनुरुध्, आयस्, आयस्, परिस्, संसृज्, परिज्व, सज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष, द्विष्, द्रुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + घिनुण् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्क 'mix-are'; similarly, अनुरोधो 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयासी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; सजर्ग 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपो 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; रिराडो 'reviling'; परिदाही 'burning'; परिदोहा 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आमोषी 'a thief'; अभ्याचानो 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory घ of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वो कषलसकथ्यस्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वो, कष-लस-कथ्य-स्रम्भः (घिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कथ्य स्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशब्दत्वनरे घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs कष् 'to injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कथ्य 'to praise' and स्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विनासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकस्यी 'vaunting and विसम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्वातोरपचपपदे चकारादौ च चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and वि.

As अपलाषी 'thirsty'; विलाषी. The term वि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपस्त्रुमयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-स्त्रु-मय-वद-वसः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs लप, स्त्रु, मय, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रलाषी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रधावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाथी 'tormenting'; प्रवाही 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखाद्विनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो
वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-
वाद-व्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्सादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—
निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्लिग्, खाद्, विनाग्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, व्याभाष and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+वुञ्=निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; शकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेप्तः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'extracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix वुञ् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha:—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c' with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वुञ्, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गं ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गं,

(युञ्ज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशोश्चोपसर्गं उपपदे वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix वुञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आरेंवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिवेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोष्टा formed by हन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,

अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चञ् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-

देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेभ्यो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes हन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; नीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एध we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्त्रं ।

जुचङ्कस्य-दन्द्रस्य-सु-गृधि-उवल-शुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥

जु-चङ्कस्य-दन्द्रस्य-सु-गृधि-उवल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, लङ्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तन्नीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चङ्कस्य, दन्द्रस्य, सु, गृध, उवल, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु + युच् = जो + अन (VII. 1. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = जवनः (VI. 1. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चङ्कस्य + युच् = चङ्कम् + अन् (II. 4. 74) = चङ्कनः 'moving about'; so also दन्द्रमण, 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गद्वनः 'greedy'; ब्वलन. burning'; शोचन. 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतन. 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चाननर्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इण्यच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भलङ्कम्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of हन् to भलङ्कम् (III 2 135), but also the addition of ण्वन् to the same. If a *tāchchhika opavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद, because in that case the addition of उक्त्वा to पद by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpāna*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खः विकथनः ।

क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मण्ड-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध कोपे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed. As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb भलङ्क to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्भातोर्बुच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As क्वयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमायि 'trembling'. In these cases the affix हन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्ष ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddattat*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take क्त्. As, सूदित् 1st sing सूदित् 'one who strikes'; दीपित् 'one who shines'; दीक्षित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this *apavāda* rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the *Paribhāṣā* given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned *Paribhāṣā* is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्पयति and कम्पना युवति: 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (*yogavibhāga*), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the नन्तादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ल्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्युद्.

लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उक्ञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-

पत-पद-स्था-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उक्ञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उक्ञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उक्ञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष, पत्, पद्, स्था, भू, वृष्, हन्, कम्, गम् and शृ ।

As अपलायुक् वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपातुकंसत्वं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभावुकमन्नं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आघातुकं कापान्तिकस्य शूलम्, कामुक एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रत्न आहूः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णमाहूः । The य is added after स्था in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिन्नकुहलुण्टवृडः घाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिन्न-

कुह-लुण्ट-वृडः, घाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु घाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix घाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिन्न, कुह, लुण्ट and वृ ।

The ष is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीष् i. e. long ई (IV. I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; भिलाकः 'a beggar'; कुट्टाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुट्टाकः 'a thief or robber'; बराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c.

प्रजीरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवत्तेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रज् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्. 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st dual प्रजविनौ &c.

जिदृक्षिविश्रीयवमाव्ययाभ्यसपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इष्-वम-अव्यथ-अभ्यस-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', दृ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यथ 'not to give pain', अभ्यस 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As 'जयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; इरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अत्ययी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; भग्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभयी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

स्पृहृगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहृगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुच् शीङो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words: - स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the ह् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रद् to the verb धृष् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृह्यालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृह्यालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पत्यालुः 'tending or prone to fall'; दयालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अय

Vart :—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शाङ् 'to lie down';
35 शयानुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेदुसिशदसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेदु-सि-शद-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धट् लि शद सव इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेदु 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद 'to fall' and सव 'to sit'.

As, दाहः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As सवः 'binding'; शदः 'falling'; and सवुः 'resting'.

सुचस्यदः क्तरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-चसि-अदः, क्तरच्, (तच्छीला)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु चसि अद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्तरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्तरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', comes after the verbs सु 'to flow', चसि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As सुमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मर 'gluttonous'; अश्मरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्,
(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat'.

As भञ्ज+घुरच्=भङ्ग+घुर (VII. 3. 52)=भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also मेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिछिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः,
कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिदिछिदे धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच् वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुर काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs विद् and छिद्.

Vart :—The affix कृष् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इण्-नश्-जि-सर्त्तिभ्यः कृष् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्-नश्-जि-सर्त्तिभ्यः, कृष्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नश् जि सर्त्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कल्पप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix कृष् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and छ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicative in order to introduce the augment लृक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + कृष् = इ + लृ + कृष् = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious', स्त्वरः fem. स्त्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् *pratyāhāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निपात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः कृष्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गम् and adding the affix कृष्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागरूकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्त्तृकः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागु 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागरूकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङ् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशान्, यङ् (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङन्तानामूकः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and वश् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपूकः 'a mutterer' of prayers repeatedly; वश्शूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमि-अजस-कम-हिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कम्पि-स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', हम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम 'to desire', हिनस् 'to injure', and शीष 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्प्रा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजन्नं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्प्रा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिनस् 'the injuring Rākshas'; शीघ्रं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजन्नं is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजन्नं ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेर्भिन्नश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and भिन्न 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिक्षुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb शसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेर्इच्छस्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = इषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याचच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यप् (see sūtras III. 1. 8, II, 13, &c). As मित्रयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुमयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit कृन् will be employed. As निनीयिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्यन् follows; as पुत्र + क्यन् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आट्टगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्-गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनौ, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् च च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावृत्तसर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो वर्शनात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धातुकृन्छज्जनिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहिवलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit.&c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गन् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त्, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ऋ. But the present rule is applicable to long ऋ as well.

Thus पा + कि = पयिः 'drinking'; as पयिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; इद्विर्गाः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ तत्तुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). हरे अश्वाजगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जघ्नः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जघ्ननिवृत्तम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जतिः as जतिबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, guna is the substitute of the verb ऋच्छ and of those that end in the long ऋ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused guna. It is to prevent this guna of the letter ऋ that we have annexed an indicatory क् to these affixes.

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सप् &c.; as सेविः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृम्, छ्, जनि,

मि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, इभिः, चक्रिः, सन्निः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेमि ।
Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचलिः, यायनिः (VII 4. 83).

स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषोः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्तृषेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धृषेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वप्नञ् 1st. sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णञ् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart.—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णञ् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृवन्द्योराारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्ति अभिवादनस्तृयोः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन् 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्मारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्रुक्कनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-क्कनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिभी भये अस्माद्धातोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुक्कनौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रुकन्नपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्कन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भारुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart.—The affix क्कन should also be stated; as भीरुकः ।

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

यश्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे भस्माद्यङन्तात्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as वायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्तिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥
भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्तिप्, (तच्छ्रीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्तिप् comes, in the sense of the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine', भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाज् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व् + क्तिप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्ज् 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पूः 'what fills'; जूः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जू; ग्रावस्तु (VI I. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्तिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाज्स्वरूपविधि does not apply in *tāchchhīlīka* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(तच्छ्रीलादिषु, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रीलादिषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिप्प्रत्ययिष्ठायतस्तु कट्पृजुश्रीणां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणश्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतर्दीर्घश्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृभय इत्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च द्वे च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः सम्प्रसारणश्च ॥

178. The affix क्तिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As युज्, 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; छिज् 'piercing'; भिज् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्तिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instance there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When **किप्** follows, the long vowel is the substitute of **वच्** 'to peak', **प्रच्छ्** 'to ask', **आयतस्तु** 'to praise long', **कटप्** 'to move through a mat', **जु** 'to move rapidly', and **श्री** 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, **वाक्** 'the voice'; **प्रच्छ् + किप् = प्रग् + किप्** (VI. I. 10) = **प्रष् + किप्** (VIII. 2. 56) = **प्राट्** (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; **आयतस्तु** 'who praises long'; **कटप्** 'a worm'; **श्री** 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word **जु** which was mentioned in the last *sūtra* is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs **द्युत्** 'to shine', **गम्** 'to go' and **इ** 'to invoke', when **किप्** follows. As, **वियुत्** 'shining'; **जगत्** 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of **जुहुः** as **जुहुः** 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire'.

Vart:—The root **टृ** 'to tear' is shortened also; as **रटृत्** 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb **ध्या** 'to think' has *samprasāraṇa*; as **धीः** 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (किप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने किप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix **किप्** comes after the verb **भू** 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, **विभूः** 'a person called Vibhū'; **प्रतिभूः** 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो इवसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, इ,

असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्भवतेर्धातोः उपसर्गयो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणे मितद्र्वादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix **डु** comes after the verb **भू** when it is preceded by the *upasargas* **वि, प्र** and **सम्** provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As **विभूः** 'all pervading'; **प्रभूः** 'lord'; **संभूः** 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe **विभूः** 'a person called Vibhū'.

Vart:—The words **मितद्र्** &c. also are formed by this affix. As **मितद्र्** 'the sea'; **संभूः** 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied **डु** and not **किप्** to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhātus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of **तुक्** augment. Thus the 1st. dual of **मितद्र्** is **मितद्र्**, 1st. pl. is **मितद्रवः**. Here there is no substitution of **उक्कड्** which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if **डु** had retained its *dhātu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितृवा &c, (2.) We have no त् which rule VI. 1. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितदुः ।

धः कर्मेणि ष्टन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मेणि, ष्टन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धातोश्च कर्मेणि कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्टन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicative ष denotes that the feminine is formed by डीश् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दाप्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (ष्टन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् सि सिच् मिह पत दश नह एतभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्टन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप् 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दात्र, 1st. sing. neuter दात्रम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योत्रं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a panegyric', गोत्रं 'a goad', सत्रं 'a ligament', संस्त्रं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेढुम् 'the penis'; वनम् 'a vehicle'; वृक्षा 'a large tooth'.

The word वृक्षा belongs to the *Ajāti* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(आ) and not in ई (IV. 1. 4).

The root वृग् is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i* e. as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ष्टन् thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह्+ष्टन् = नष्ट् fem. नष्ट्री (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुनः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुनः, (ष्टन्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूप् पूङ् पवनं, अस्नाद्वातोः करणे कारको ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix ष्टन् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू. includes both पूङ् and पूज्; as पोषम् 'a plough-share'; पोत्र 'the snout of a hog'.

**अतिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अति-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs कृ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; लघित्रं 'a sickle'; धवित्रं 'a fan'; सवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्रं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

**कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः,
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः करणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devatā* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयमुषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); भूमिः पवित्रं स मा पुनान् 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

शीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीतो धातोर्वर्तमानेभ्यः क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative झि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as झिमिहा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मित्रः (मिद् + क्त = मिद् + त = मिन् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So झिद्विषा—द्विषणः 'sounding inarticulately'; झिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvritti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,

च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्. पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थं कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जृष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिव्यादितः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यत ready'; कष्टं 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशित 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तृप्तः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म् अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III.2.123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिनिस्वहिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', नि 'to scatter', स्वह 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and भश् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and भाशुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unâdi* affixes. Thus though the affixes *उल्लच्* is ordained after *हृष*, it comes also after *शक्* as *शक्नुना*. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unâdi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (*सशेष*). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of *Sākaṭāyaṇa*, consider all nouns and substantives (*नाम*) as derivative words from simple roots (*धातुज*). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (*प्रकृति*) or affix (*प्रत्यय*) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unâdi* affixes :

बाहुल्यं प्रकृतेस्तनुष्टुटेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसंशेषविधेश्च तनुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ।
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् ।
यत्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्वृत्तम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययान्त्र ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनुबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उणादयः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unâdi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unâdi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वरमन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unâdi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमि गमम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come' So also स्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतियोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; तियायी; आयायी; भायी, &c.

Vart :—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लृट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As खी गमि गमम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the articles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आज्ञोक्ते ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावत्स्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् दायति तावद् भोक्ष्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा व्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तपदरे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with कि it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो मित्रां ददाति, दाता, or कतमो भिक्षां ददाति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ ग्रन्थमानायां भविष्यतिकाले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धि is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpuruṣa Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तो ददाति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं ददाति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्तुं.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोड्यर्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययः प्रेषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोट्प्रत्ययः धात्वर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्विष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट् means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छति (भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट्प्रत्ययो) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले लोट्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अकाराद् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the *anuvṛtti* of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्तं, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the *vṛddhi* takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तान्तरं मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदगच्छत् (भागच्छति, भागमिष्यति or भागन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्विष्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण दृष्टाव्यो न भवति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोज्न् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्था), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिन्निस्थे इति अस्य जटा: 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावत्सते पतिष्यति वृण्डः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix ण्वुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like क्त्वं &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वासक्य (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्त्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये पञ्चादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामपरे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as क्त्वं &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्टये व्रजति ।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वासक्य rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence लुप्त्वं would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वाचक has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, चञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाचक रूप not applying, the affix लुप्त्वं would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of लुप्त्वं of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परस्मै given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः । So also कम्बजदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भवदायो व्रजति । दा + अण् = दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डजायो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ शब्दशानच्चौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'śānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes शब्द and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन् देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यम् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्य + लृट् (III. 1. 33) = कर + इट् + स्य + शब्द = करिष्यन् nom. sing. करिष्यन् । In other words the participial affixes अन् (अन्त) and मान, technically known as शब्द and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ परिदेवने भवतनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As भः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. श्वो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लृट्. As अद्य भो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लृट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं नु कदा गन्ता, यैव पादौ निश्चाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' । य तु कदाध्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो चञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

चञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पशविभ्यो धातुभ्यो चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'vis' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvritti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + चञ् = पादः 'foot'; रुज् + चञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so,वेशः 'entrance'.

Vart.—The verb स्पृश् takes चञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्वर्गः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्वर्गो meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix अच्, under rule III. I. 134; as स्वर्गो देवदत्तः । There is difference in accent between these two words.

स स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, स्थिरे, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तद्धातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि चञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमस्त्वबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, सृ + चञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सत्तो 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As असितारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्धञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच् + घञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रङ्गः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीदन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहारन्ति असाद्रसम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिलाहारः।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेघः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेघ is related to the verb निषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्य कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पशुशस्त्र, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारजारी कर्तरि णिन्नुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + अ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. I. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शर्पुनिष्पयौ। कृ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः। द्वौ कारौ, त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अञ् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—"Aparādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *aparāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अञ् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अञ् or अप् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अञ् and अप्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकानिघोच्छिन्ति, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिन्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति श्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

इङ् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङोप् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शृ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'jñ' (to study).

This debars अच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि + इ + घञ् = अधि + ऐ + अ = अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यासादधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङोप्. As उपेत्याधीयते ऽस्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix घञ् comes after the root गृ, when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकून-नीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरं कुतः ।

उपसर्गं रुचः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गं, रुचः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rñ' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अप् (III 3 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुचः 'sound'.

समि युद्दुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द् दु वृ इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संशवः. But प्रयवः where the preposition is not sam.

श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गं ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गं, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गोभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'srī' (to go to) 'ñī' (to lead) and 'bhū' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रयः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with upasargas, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावी राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू + घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samāsa, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो राहः ? Here the root नृ has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वी क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वी, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाचुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विभ्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have जवः and भवः ।

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्नयतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उजायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः उसाधानाम् ? Here the affix is 'ach' by III 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुश्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु श्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'śru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रदावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रसावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and जवः ।

निरभ्योः पूल्वोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूम्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू । As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिजावः 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उन्न्योर्ग्रः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योरुपपदयोः गृ इत्येतेभ्यो धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्रस्व 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवहस्व 'the swallow-

ng of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्म्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोरुन्म्योरुपपदयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्भात्यर्थो भवति।

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'krī' when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्ष्योत्करः 'a heap of alms' [ष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्णस्तौतिर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(= समेव स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeat ng hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्छात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोः प्रशब्दरूपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेष्यविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अवशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रम् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोर्विशब्दरूपपदे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तद्वत्प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word **प्रयत्नं** means 'extent, circuit, range'. As **पटस्य विस्तारः** 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, **वृणविस्तरः** 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe **विस्तरो वचसाम्** 'proximity of words'.

छंदो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नाम्नि, च, (वै, स्त्रः, च०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्त्वपात्तेरुन्नीनाम्नि चञ्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word **छन्द** here means prosodial metre such as Gâyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word **नाम्** would not have been used. Thus **वि+स्त्व+चञ्=वि+स्वृ+चञ्** (VIII. 3. 94)=**विष्टारः** 'the name of a metre called Vishtāra-Pankti'.

The whole word **विष्टारपङ्क्ति** is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix **ghañ**; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with **ghañ**. The seventh case-affix in the word **छन्दोनाम्नि** has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपत्ते महेर्द्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वात्स्विष्यते षुगुद्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix **अप्**. As **उद्ग्राहः** 'lifting up'.

Vart:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word **ग्रह** is preceded by **नि**; and the **ह** is changed into **ञ**; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, **उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च मल्लवेवा अवीवृधन्** ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्द्युपपत्ते महेर्द्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेद्भात्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word **मुष्टि** means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, **अहो मल्लस्य संग्राहः** 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; **अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः** 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe **संग्रहो धान्यस्य** 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्धोनींशोर्धूताशेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्धोः, नी-इशोः,
द्यूत-अशेषयोः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं निय इणञ् धातोर्धम्प्रत्ययो भवति, अशेषो-
पवादः, द्यूताशेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि + नी and नि + इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणाय = समन्तान्नय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि + इ + घञ् = नि + ऐ + भ = नि + भ्राय = न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययं 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अशेष means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाशतकरणम् ।

परावन्तुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इणो धातोर्धम्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्यायः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः = क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः शेतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वि-उपयोः, शेतेः, पर्याये, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः शेतेर्धातोर्धम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रायः = तव राजानम् पशयितुमपर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रायः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विश्रायः 'doubt',

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेत्यस्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उच्यते प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पमच्यः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलमच्यः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षमस्थानां फलानां यष्टया चयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पमच्यश्चौर्येण the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्यः 'gathering'; as पुष्पोच्यः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोरादेश्च ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kāśī-dwelling'; आकायमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अनिरयः कायः 'a-perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चयः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संघे चानौत्तराधर्ग्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ग्ये, (चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word **संच** means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddsa* negation the other is taken. Thus **भिक्षुकनिकायः** 'the assembly of beggars'; **ब्राह्मणनिकायः** 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; **वैयाकरणनिकायः** 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But **सूकरनिचयः** 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also **कृताकृतसमुच्चयः** 'the collection of what is done and not done'; **प्रमाणसमुच्चयः** 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no **संच** in either of the two senses; it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghan* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहा

णच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्यच्प्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word **कर्म** means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. **व्यतिहार** means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (**भाव**) also. The anubandha **च** in **णच्** is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus **वि+अव+कृश्+णच्+अच्+ङीप्=व्यावक्रोशी** (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 'mutual abuse'). So also **व्यावहासी, व्यावलेखी**. The affix **णच्** forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix **अच्** by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix **ङीप्** of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe **व्यतिपाको वर्तते** ।

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with **क्तिन्** (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with **क्तिन्** &c, then the affix that would have debarred **क्तिन्** &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar **क्तिन्** &c, do not debar this. Thus **व्यावचोरी, व्यावच**. Here **चुर्** being a *पञ्चन्त* class root would have taken **दुच्** (III. 3. 107) in the fe

nine, as चोरण; and चर्थ would have taken अङ् by III. 3. 104, as चर्था. The roots ईङ् and ईङ्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीक्षा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीक्षी &c. The form व्यातृक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inuṇ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus सारङ्गिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं + कूट् + इन् + अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूटितम् 'a general confusion'; so सारङ्गिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, सरावः, संद्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वासस्वरूप rule III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence घञ् never comes in this sense. Pāṇjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्क &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्क &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last phorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटितम्. See rule इत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms out an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्महर्धात्तेर्धप्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of घञ् (III. 3. 1), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृषजन्मयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निग्राहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ; निग्रहश्चेरस्य ।

मे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे ग्रहार्थोत्प्रेक्ष्ययस्य भवति लिप्तायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पानप्रवाहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; सुवप्रवाहेण चरति द्विजो हस्तिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brâhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्ता means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रमहो देवत्तरस्य ।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे ग्रहार्थोत्प्रेक्ष्ययस्य भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अक्षर-परिमहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमहः देवत्तरस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृह् and वृञ्. This debars the affix अप्. As नीवाराः 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयति यैति पूद्रुवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यैति-पू-द्रुवः, (चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे अयतयासिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pû' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रावः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called **सिंहवलीकनन्यायः** 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

**विभाषा ङङि रूप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङि, रु-
प्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रीतेः प्रवर्तते विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ân' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; आस्नावः or आस्नवः 'bathing'.

**अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रति-
बन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे ग्रहर्थातोर्व्यप्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived ; as अवग्रहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः परस्य ।

प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहर्थातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यश्चेत् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāṣhā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाग्रग्रहः or तुलाग्रग्रहः, as तुलाग्रग्रहेण चरति or तुलाग्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहर्थातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control ; as प्रग्रहः or प्रग्राहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रग्राह्यपदे वृणोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं न चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering' ? Observe प्रवरागौ ।

परौ भुवो ज्वलाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, चञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परित्यज्यपदे विभाषा चञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यदाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभवः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard' ? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णस्तादृशतोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारकं संज्ञायाम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गिधौ भयादिनाः प्रसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जडसर्वः छन्दसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19 : and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars चञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, अचः 'collecting'; अचः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; क्षयः 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी + अच् = भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरिस्तु मे जवः, पंचोदनस्तवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ri', short 'u', or long 'ū', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars चञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, वृ + अप् = करः 'scattering'; गृ + गरः 'beverage, poison'; दृ + शरः 'arrow'; यु + यवः 'barley'; लृ + लवः 'reaping'; पू + पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The व् in ऋवृ is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त् changed into व्; for then by the rule 'that which follows त् is also called तपर' short उ only would have been taken and not long ऊ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-दृ-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वशिष्टयोः रूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कदिधानं स्थास्नापाव्यधिहिनियुःसर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'nischi' and 'gam'.

This debars चञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अच् is debarrred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; दरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वश् and रण् should also be included in this; as वशः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of चञ्, the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs :—स्था, स्ता, पा, वृध्, हन् and युध्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आदिधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विप्रः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुधः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदेऽर्धतोऽप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; मयसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद् + घस् = घस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

नै ण च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, ण, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्णः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् च ॥

60. And the affix 'pa' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ए = नि + आद् + अ = न्याहः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरपुमप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars वच्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आव्याधा, उपजाया.

स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अपुमप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or ह्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; मस्वानः 'a loud noise'; महासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गोऽपि यमेर्वा अपुमप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars वच्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियामः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः

नै गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नै, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगाब्द उपपदे गद् नद् पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars चम्. Thus निगाद्: or निगाद्: 'recitation'; निनद्: or निनद्: 'noise'; निपठ्: or निपठ्: 'reading'; निस्वन: or निस्वान: 'a noise'.

कणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नै, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणतेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनूपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix चम्. Thus निकणः or निकणः 'a musical tone'. कणः or कणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्याणप्रकणा वीणा.

But not so here, अतिक्रान्ते वर्तते, where the upasarga being भति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, अस्माद्भातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvritti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोर्नूपसर्गादप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars घञ्. As विद्यामद्: 'pride of knowledge'; धनमद्: 'pride of wealth'; कुलमद्: 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्माद्: 'mad'; प्रमाद्: 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद् सम्मद् इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमद्: 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां समद्: 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमाद्: 'carelessness'; संमाद्: 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृते in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरूपदयोरजतंर्द्धातोः पशुविषये धात्वर्थेऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars घञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां उदजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अक्षेष् ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेष्, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयश्चेद्भात्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृह्. The verb गृह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms गृह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ज; as अक्षेष् ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe गृहः पादस्त्र ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring घञ्. They suppose, therefore the existence of the root ग्लह्, to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix घञ् ।

प्रजने सर्तेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्तेः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्तेर्धातोः प्रजने विषये अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घञ्. As नि + ह्वे + अप् = नि + ह् + अ (VI. I. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निहव (VI. I. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation'; विहवः 'calling'. But प्रह्वः 'a summons'.

आङ्ङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्ङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपपदे ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'ân', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they challenge each other). But otherwise आह्वयः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङ्ङि, ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आह्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह् by the prefix आ, then samprasârâṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + ह् + अप् = आहु + अ = आहो + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आह्वयः 'calling'. Even in the word आह्वयः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वयतेः संप्रसारणमप्यस्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hiv' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As ह्वः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं गुरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe भाहायः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here, shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which is running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हन्श्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हानोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप् मस्ययो भवति, तत्संनियोगेन च वधादेशः, सञ्ज्ञानोदात्त

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is an dātta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्यूनाम् 'the killing of robber

When action is not denoted, the affix चञ् applies; as घातः 'a blow

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Th we have the affix चञ् also ; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्तावभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्यस्ययो भवति, चञ्चादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han' when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभ्रघनः 'a mass cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं क्वि ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाऽन्तेरप्यस्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'an-ta' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर् + हन् + अप् = अन्तर् = घन् + अ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ए as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghâna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्घनोत्थाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्थाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यतेऽत्थाधानं चैर् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चैतद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणोऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकेऽप्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As **अयोधनः** 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); **विषण** 'a mallet'; **द्रुघनः** 'an axe'. Some write **द्रुघणः**; the **न** being changed into **ण** either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of **आरोहणदि** (IV. 2. 8j).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे हारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word **च** in the sūtra draws in **अप्** from the last aphorism and in that case **घन्** replaces **हन्**. Thus **स्तम्बघ्न** or **स्तम्बघन**, 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are **स्तम्बघ्ना** as well as **स्तम्बघना**. When **क** is added, we have **स्तम्बघ्नः**. Thus **हन् + क = हन् + अ** (VI. 4. 9c) = **घ्न** (VII 3. 54). When **अप्** is added, **हन्** is totally replaced by **घन्**. When instrument is not meant, we have **स्तम्बघात**.

परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्ज्ञातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके घशब्दश्चादेः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han' when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus **परिघः** or **पल्लिघः** (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरप्प्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding **अप्** (III. 3. 76) to the verb **हन्** preceded by the upasarga **उप**, then eliding the penultimate **अ** of **इ**; this is the irregularity. The by sandhi rules **हन्** is changed into **घन्**. This form would have been given by the affix **क** also, without any irregularity.

The word **आश्रय** refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus **पर्वतोपघ्नः** 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also **ग्रामोपघ्नः** 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe **पर्वतोपघातः** !

**संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्)** ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगुर्वोऽपपदयोर्हन्ते द्वांतोरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रांसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम् + हप् + अप् = सं + ह् + अ = सं + घ् + अ = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघात्, 'union'.

निघो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमितम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्दन्तेरप्प्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमित्तं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षा 'trees as high as broad'. निघा ग्रान्तयः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from ना or from
नि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

**ड्वितः क्विन्नः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, क्विन्नः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोः क्विः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has an indicative 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्वि, मप् is always the augment) we must add म्, for we can not use the affix क्वि alone; but we must always use क्विम्. Thus डुपचप् 'to cook'—पक्वितम् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—उपनिमम् 'sown' (VI. 1. 15); डुकृम्—कृन्निमम् 'artificial'.

**द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोरयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicator 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुर्वेषु—वेषयुः 'a trembling'; दुर्धोषि—धययुः 'swelling'; दुर्भु—लवयुः 'encircling'; दुर्दु—दवयुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजविभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâc' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vicheh' (to shine), 'pracheh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'na' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vriddhi (I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice' याच्या 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विभः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षः 'protection'.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the ङिन् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the for प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपधातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicative and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः कि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicative, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 6). Thus प्र+दा+कि=प्रदिः 'a present'; ग्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fruition'; अन्तर्हिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मेयधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मेयि, अधिकरणे, च, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जनधि: 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधि: 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix क्ति from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकतरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावाद् धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नाबादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लाम्नाड्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

षार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति षक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes घञ्, भञ् and भप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

Var.—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus भाविः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; शिभिः 'shining'; स्रस्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Var.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so ऋषिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

Var.—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्लै 'to be exhausted', ग्लै 'to fade', उषा 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानि: 'exhaustion'; ग्लानि: 'fading', उषानि: 'old age'; हानि: 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्त्वि coming after verbs ending in long क् and the verbs कृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कर्त्तृ.र्णः ‘scattering’; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्त्वि = कि + ति (VII. 1. 100) = किर + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त् is changed into न् by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 42), and this न् is changed into ए by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णिः 'praise'; जीर्णिः 'old age'; शीर्णिः 'drying'; लूनः (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; यूनः 'joining'; धूनः 'agitation'; पूनः 'destruction'.

Var.—The affix क्तिप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs लृ &c. are 21 verbs of kryādi class.

स्यागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-गा-पा-पचः, भावे (स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गो भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थतिः 'a journey' (VII. 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गै + क्ति = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; सपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvriti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like भवस्या and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like भवस्या, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, वृष-वृष-पच-मन-विद-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषयं वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मत्तिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीत्तिः 'consuming'; रात्तिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From वृष् we have also an irregular noun वृष्ट्या (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्यादयः शब्दा निपाठ्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'hcti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word मन्त्रे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:—भक् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ऊति:। this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in पूति: and जूति: consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in साति: the भा of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रधानेषु च। उग्रतुष्टाभिरूतिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्धात्वोः स्त्रिजिगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प् that we add a त by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुज्जशीङ्भृजिष्वाः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-षुज्ज-शीङ्-भृज्-इष्वाः, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजाकिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śīñ', 'bhrīñ' and 'in'.

Thus समज्या 'an assembly'; निषद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपश्या 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. I. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; मृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. I. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एयत् to the exclusion of क्यप्।

संज्ञायां पुंसि वृष्टत्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति नेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāśikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, ननु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two:—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. I. 71)

and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III. I. 67

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो यागभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्यावृगयाटाटधानानुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ जागतेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इष् + श = इच्छ + अ = इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III. I. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Vart.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्वा 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; वृगया 'hunting'; भगवत् 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Vart.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्वा 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (सित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + सन् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ । Thus चिकीर्ष् + अ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष । Then we add टप् by IV. I. 4 and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिह्वा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोन्ध्या 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (सित्रयां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debarbs क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; वहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

षिद्धिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः,

अङ्, (सित्रयान्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्धिभ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'ai' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus ङृप् has an indicative ष्, the real root being ङृ । From it we have ऋ 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); ऋपुष्—ऋषा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of Bhiddādi class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः । So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; भारा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; भार्ति: 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृति: The list of *Bhidādi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupāṭha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिरा, छिरा, विरा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्याधयोः), भ्रडा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (कृपेःसंपसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूज कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'an' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतञ्जोपसर्गं ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपठे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्तन्तरोपसर्गवृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रहा, प्रधा, उपहा, उपधा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अद्धा 'faith' अन्तर्द्धा (I. 4. 59).

ययासन्नन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यि-आस-अन्न्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियामङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसअन्न्य इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ षट्ठिवन्निविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिच्छार्थस्य युच्प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + यिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्थना 'the loosening': How do we get the form आसया? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वाचस्वरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत् ।

The root अन्थि taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्थ of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix एिञ् ।

Vart.—The verbs घट् 'to move', वन्द् 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus घट्टना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb घट् here belongs to the Tudādi class, and means 'to move' and not चट् of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being एिञन्त ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after हप् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अन्वेषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेषण 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when हप् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां ग्वुलबहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्, ग्वुल्, बहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गन्धमानायां धातोर्बहुलं ग्वुल्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशो ग्वुल्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इच्छितपौ धातुनिर्देशो इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णात्कारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राक्षिः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मस्वर्थाच्छः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इमजादिभ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कुप्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रवहिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्चिः 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes इक् and वित् (that is शप् and तिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as लिङि, छिङि, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root भ्रि and यु exhibited as भ्रयतिः and यौतिः। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'।

Vart.—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेक्।

Vart.—The affix ह् comes after the word मत्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final अ; as मत्वर्थीयः।

Vart.—The affix इन् comes after the verbs भञ्ज् &c; as आजिः, आतिः, आविः।

Vart.—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (खुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्बुज्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by' the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका 'a sort of game'; आभ्युषखादिका; आचोषखादिका; शालभञ्जिका; तालभञ्जिका।

विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
ख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (खुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोर्दिभ्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'iñ' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence ākhyāna is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां एव कारिमकार्षिः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वं कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कुर्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्षिः A.—सर्वं कारिकां or कुर्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्षम्. Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वंगणि &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and हतिः ।

पर्यायार्हणोत्पत्तिषु यवुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्पत्तिषु, यवुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽयमासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिक्षुभक्षिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्षिका मे उत्पादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by ण्वल् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

आक्रोशे नश्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नजि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नश्युपपदे धातोर्निःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner'! तस्याकरणरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नम् is in composition'? Observe वृतिस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O sinner' !

कृत्यलुटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, लुटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kṛitya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kṛitya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraṇa* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वार्षाणि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *kṛit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् द्विजते = पादहारकः । गजे चोपतटे = गजेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकजिह्वे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शायितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकजिह्वे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyuṭ* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मेणि च येन संपर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्शमानस्य कर्तुः शरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकनिगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix '*lyut*' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound i. e. a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a नित्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पयः पानं सुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; भोजनं भोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूष्णीकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूष्णीका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडस्थोपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिवृत्तनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंदकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणोऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix '*lyut*' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus **इक्ष्मप्रव्रधनः** 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); **पलाशाशातनः** 'palāsa-cutter'; **गोक्षोदनी** 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also **सक्तुधानी**. In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंलिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणशोरभिप्रेषयोर्धातोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus **हन्तच्छदः** 'the lip'. छद् 'to cover' + च (VI. 4. 96) = छद् lit 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also **उरच्छदः** 'a breast plate'; **घटः**. These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus **आ + कु + घ = आकरः** 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, **आलयः** 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe **प्रसाधनः** 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe **प्रहरणो दण्डः** 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory च् is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI 4. 96. by which after the causative छद्, when च is added, the long आ is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपण-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा घप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवायं ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samachara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpāṇa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix च् with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavāda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix चञ् is added. Thus **गोचरः** 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); **संचरः** 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); **वहः** 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); **व्रजः** 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); **व्यजः** 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the अञ् of व्यञ् (वि+अञ्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निरुषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपत्तेरतरेत्युणातेष धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'strī' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The ञ् is indicative and causes the vriddhi of ऋ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicative च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राय is understood here also; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दाः घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'sāmhāra', 'ādhāra' and 'āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी-न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्-यु-उद्यावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सम्-ह-संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धृ-आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि-आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः

उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अङ्+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलौदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदघ्नन bucket for drawing water' (उत्+अङ्घ्र+ल्युट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix घ to the root उदङ्घ्? Because the form evolved by applying घ, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्यङ्गवति ॥

124. The word 'ânāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish' आनायो मृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

खनी घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्द्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धःप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word ख । Thus आखान् or आखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus आखन् + ड = आखः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix डर also comes in the same sense; as आखरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as आखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकवक as आखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छाकृच्छार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कृच्छ-अकृच्छ-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कृच्छ्रः कृच्छ्रायेंषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुर has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c. ? See कृच्छ्रेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light' ? Observe ईषत्कार्ये a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory ; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, च, भू-जोः, (ईषद्-दुःसुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्व्यासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे चकारादीपदादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्चयर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदाद्ये भव 'being enriched easily'; दुराढ्य भवम् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाढ्यकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वाढ्येन भूयते or भावेन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्रा-
कृच्छ्रायेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु ईषदादिपूपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषच् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृकर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खञ्. Thus इषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुरपानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. इषत्पानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुरानः, सुपानः &c.

कृन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रायेषुपूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्च कृन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खञ्. Thus सूपसदनोऽग्निः । सूपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. I.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्च कृन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपादां शासिबुधिशिधिमृषिभ्यो युञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुवोह नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ; so also सुवेद नाम कृणोर् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vari.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix '*yuch*' comes after the verbs शास्, युष्, दृग्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्गमनः, दुर्द्वेषणः and दुर्मर्षणः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्वातोर्वर्तमानवत्परव्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix प्यङ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix प्यङ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words सामुर्ध्वः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने ङट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उपाद्य बहलं) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्तागमोति 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽस्मागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यति 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तामि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and यञ् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and यञ्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यत्रमानः, भलंकरिष्युः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)' ? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As **परुड् भगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम्** 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; **वर्षेण गमिष्यति** 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word **गच्छामि** can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकारात् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remot from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word **आशंसा** means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of **च** is to draw the word **वर्तमानवत्** from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (**लृङ्**), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote future time. Thus **उपाध्यायश्चेद्गमत्** or **आगतः**, or **आगच्छति** or **आगमिष्यति** वा ए **व्याकरणमध्यगीमहि**, or **अधीतवन्तः** or **अधीमहे** or **अध्येष्यामहे** 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by **लृङ्** (Aorist); and not by **लङ्** or **लिट्**. For **लृङ्** denotes past time in general while **लङ्** and **लिट्** denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase **भूतवत्** making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to **लिट्** or **लङ्** which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe **आगमिष्यति** 'he will come'.

सिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदागतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमध्वेऽयमहे • 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, भाग्य, स्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever hope is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express hope". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट्. By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:— न्वः क्षिप्रमध्वेऽयमहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *aparāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत्, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीष्य 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीष्य 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीयीष्य, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,

अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes **लङ्** (Imperfect Past) and **लृट्** (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word **क्रियामबन्धः** means 'performing an action with continuity'; and **समीप्य** means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus **यावज्जीवं भृशमन्नमदात्** (not **भक्षत्**) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or **भृशमन्नं दास्यति** 'he will give much food'. **यावज्जीवं पुत्रोऽध्यापिषत्** 'throughout his life he taught', or **यावज्जीवं अध्यापयिष्यति** 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus **येद्यं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्मीनाधित** or **सोमेनायष्ट** or **गामदत्त** 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. **येद्यममावास्याऽऽगमिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्मीनाधस्यते** or **सोमेन यक्ष्यते**, or **स गां दास्यते** 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative **न अनद्यतन** 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase **नानद्यतनवत्** is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus **योऽयमव्वागतस्य आपाटलिपुनातदन्नं यद्वत्, कोशाम्बास्तत्रोत्तं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तुन्पास्यामः** 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe **योऽयमव्वागत आपाटलिपुनात् तद्वत् यद्वत् कोशाम्बास्तत्र युक्ता भव्येमहि** 'on [this side of the road that lead from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe **योऽयमव्वागितरवति**

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यद्वरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तथोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातास्वः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयं भागस्तस्य आपादन्तिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्ब्यास्तथोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, सयांदाय चने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमयोऽविभागे सत्यवरस्मिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न च अहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तत्र चरमापहाययास्तन युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तन्नौदनं भोक्त्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽन्तेतरस्तस्य यद्वरमापहाययास्तन युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we read together'; नौदनमभुञ्जमहि 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यद्वरमापहाययास्तन युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे—तन्नौदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः शशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्भाग आगामी तस्य योऽवरोर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तन युक्ता अभ्येत्यामहे तत्र सक्तुन् पातास्वः । Here Lu¹, or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भ-
विष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽन्यतनयत्
प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made
with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यन् परमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता भव्येत्यामह or भव्येतास्महे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-
निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमतोर्निष्ठित्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्तो भविष्यति का-
लं लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सस्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lrin' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिश्चेन्नविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चोदायास्तत्र शकटे पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आहूतस्य न शक-

पर्याप्तविषयत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोज्यत भवान् पृतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कम्पनकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो नया भवत्सुखोऽन्वार्थी चक्रम्यमाणः भरश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोज्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अग्न्येन पथा स गतः। 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोज्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोल्लङ्घिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेयं हित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमित्वात्, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्तो क्रियातिपत्तौ लुङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Liṅ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3. 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वो by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्योः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्योरुपपद्योर्धोतोल्लङ्घ्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Laṭ' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it, the words 'api' or jâtu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्यायमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लुङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां त्यजति 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लङ्च ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिता, भयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृट्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजम् भयाजयिष्यन् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृट्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अत्यजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृट्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो यं तत्र भवानयाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवकृप्ति-अ-मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवकृपत्यमर्षयोर्दार्तालिङ्लृटौ मत्स्ययो भवति ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvritti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवकृप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not enduring or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवकृप्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्धे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृट्), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपदेऽनवकृपत्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट् मत्स्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used for a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word कि and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus त्वं भवति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न श्रद्धये possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न श्रद्धये न मर्षये वा किकिल त्वं शूद्राजम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति वा शूद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवकृ-
मर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातुयदिरयेतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृत्यमर्षयोग्म्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्बिधाने यदाययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, or तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, न श्रद्धये, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् वा अपवादिष्यति 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यन् अपवादिष्यति, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिः श्लिष्टं तन्मुखं स्निग्धं तव रतिं यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपत्त्योर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. *Thus यच्च यत्र वा स्वमेवं कुर्याः न श्रद्धे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपत्त्योर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् ऋद्धौ वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, अहो अन्यायमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O! It is improper'!

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र तत्र हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दित्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयो लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोः उपपत्त्योश्चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् अर्थमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजये: or अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे उपपदे चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति यद्विशब्धेन प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्ययने 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जति 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्द्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lṛiṭ' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of बाढम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत हङ्कः पतियति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धावति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् must be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it

कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिलाष इत्यर्थान्तरम्. तस्य प्रवेदनां प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चि-
दुपपदे धातौलिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चिज्जीवति ते माता कच्चिज्जीवति ते पिता । माराविह त्वां पृच्छामि कच्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्यवसानंशक्तिश्रद्धानमं, तद्विहानीमलमर्थेन विशेष्यते, तच्चैत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषण, सिद्धश्रद्धानमोऽप्रयोगः, कचासौ सिद्ध-
यत्र गम्यते चाथां नचासौ प्रयुज्यते, तद्वृत्त्यो सम्भावनोपाधिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्जिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलम्. The word अलम् means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलम्, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलम् is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलम् is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्ध्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोणपाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलम् 'competent to do'? Observe, विवेकशायी

वदन्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the ūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, जलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम, is called संभावन-वचन. This sūtra joins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अदृश्ये भुञ्जीत or द्रव्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to do as possible', but not when यद् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति आर्ये वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word ^०हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—दक्षिणेन च्चेद्यायान शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेन शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus दक्षिणेन च्चेद् यास्यति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛitti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति भावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3, 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्

लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामपवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish' such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छ कामये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान् or भुङ्क्ता भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that you honor may eat'.

Var.—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वटि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् भामुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यत्तद्वत्: 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ्ज् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्ज.य इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अर्ध.यायेत्.च्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वटि or उच्यते; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणासन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधायार्थेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि: means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रा means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as or likes'; अधीष्ट: means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्न: means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) कटं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम्? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-सम्प्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्यादिष्वयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Loṭ' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) कटं तवर् भवान् करोत् 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) भवन् भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रेषः, कामचाराभ्यनुष्ठानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तः कालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; असिर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. I. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कट 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavāda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. I. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. I. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रैष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्-
तिके, (प्रेषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यया
शास्त्रम् ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादिपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कठं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेऽधोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थं वर्त्तमानाद्भातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्वा). Thus ऊर्ध्वम् मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कठं करोतु स्म. ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, भाणः कमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Māṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्ग स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्ग स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं जुहुषि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

ours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्यप् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोलिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'lin' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tūmun'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहं कृत्यत्वञ्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं, कृत्य-त्वः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहं कर्त्तरिवाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यत्वञ्चः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'lin').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोट्या बाह्या or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्यया वोट्टा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (lin) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *specifically* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकामवश्ययोगिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-मवश्योः, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यभावविशिष्टे आधमण्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'nini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compoundig here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्क दायी &c.

कृत्याञ्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकोधमर्थयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्थयोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु अवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दानव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, मेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तोत्पत्त्योपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Liṅ' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्निशिष्टेऽर्थे वसमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ्, here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ्, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्विच्क्त्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विच्-क्त्तौ, च, संज्ञायाम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्विच्क्त्तौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्निः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4-45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्निः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्विच्. Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देयासुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्विच्. The च् of क्विच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्विन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्युपपदे धातोलुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mân' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति. This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another त् which has not the indicative ङ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment ङ is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mān' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lan' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्यात् 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्यात् 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्
अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातुवर्णानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति भवयाकाङ्क्षोक्ता अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk :—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.* they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agniṣṭoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agniṣṭoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धातुवर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् दृग् 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुनो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः शो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayājt*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1 ? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मनुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमन् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमन्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥

क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातोर्लोड्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वलकाराणां मपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि एव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, तध्वम्भाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Lot' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Lot'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसम्बन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

tood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त्); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and ध्वम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीरयेव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीरयेव त्वं लुनासि, युयाम् लुनीथः or युयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव युयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अयमज्जाति &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीयाते, इमे अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीध्वमधीध्वमित्येव ययमधीध्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीते, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in यङ् also have this meaning of frequency, but here the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तच्छमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चोद्यमान क्रियावचनात्तोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-शदेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त and वम् । Thus आश्रमद मउमद खरुमद स्थान्यपिधानमदेत्येवायमउति or इमावउतः, or इमेऽउन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्तोऽधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्तोधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव त्वमधीषे, युवामधीयाथे, यूयमधीष्वे । छन्तोधीथे व्याकरणमधीथे, निरुक्तमधीयस्व वाहमधीथे, आवामधीमहे, वयमधीमहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-
प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् जोड्विधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूनीहि लूनीहीरयेवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लूनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वाधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-
वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये जोड्विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदनं ब्रूहन्, सक्तुन्पिव, धानाः खादित्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः,
(धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्लङ्लिटः प्रत्यया एवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. I saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवा देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचे

इं संयोऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लृट्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः । Here लङ् is used instead of लृट् ।

So also अथा ममार=अथ म्रियते । Here लिट् is used instead of लृट् ।

**लिङ्गर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्यान्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्गित्येवमादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये
अन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पतासि विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवसि (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, मेता, नेषत्, तक्षिषत्, उरधि च्यावयासि।

**उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशंकयोः, च,
(छन्दसि, लेट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्यात् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद ; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशौ ॥ नदमा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै ॥ मरुदेवतयान्येव वः पात्राण्यु-
च्यन्तै ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्वायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जिह्वाचरणेन
नरकपाल आशंक्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not option-
ally, which anuvṛtti was understood in the last sūtra.

**तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्कसेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्कध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैशध्यैन्तवै-
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-वसे-कसेन्-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-
कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शध्यै-शध्यैन्-तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥**

तुमर्थोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तव छन्दसि विषये धातोः स्यादर्थः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and कसे ॥ (2) असे=असे, असन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अध्ये=अध्ये, अध्येन्, कध्ये, कध्येन्, शध्ये and शध्येन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे=तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ङ् । The forces of क्, श् and ङ् have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, *i. e.* it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षे रायः । (2) सेन्—तन्नामैषं रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असन्—अस्मे शतं शरवो जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्वे वक्षाय जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) कसे—प्रेषे भगाय । (6) कसेन्—गर्वामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अध्ये, अध्येन्—कर्मण्युपचारयै । (9) कध्ये—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्यै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कध्येन्—श्रिययै । (11 and 12) शध्ये, शध्येन्—पिबध्यै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह मातृयध्यै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सोममिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेङ्—तं ते गर्भं हवामहे इशमे मासि सतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्=गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रये, रोहिष्यै,

अव्ययिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, कृदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रये रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रये देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कै = प्रये = मयात्म् । (2) अपापो-
वर्धनां रोहिष्यैः । रुह् + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोहणाय । (3) अ + व्यथ् + इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै = अव्यथनाय ।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driṣe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम् । विख्ये स्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम् ।

शकि णमुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ धातुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण causes vṛddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ल regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guṇa and vṛddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्तुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभन् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम् । So also अपलुपं नाशक्तुवन्, instead of अपलोपुम् ।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो = अभिचरितुम् । ईश्वरो विजिह्वः = विजिह्वितुम् । ईश्वरो विद्वः = वेतर्हितुम् ।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्ये-
प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्).
Thus भन्तेतवै = भन्तेतव्यम्; परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै = नावगाहितव्यम्; विद्वक्षेऽयः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = विवृणक्तिव्यम्; शुभ्रुषेऽयः = शुभ्रुषितव्यम्; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम् ।

The affix सक् was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिऊ एगप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावख्यातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष् + एग = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेण्कञ्चदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :—'sthâ' (to stand), 'in' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्था is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = आसमातेः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदितोराधेयः । कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः । वृज्—पुरा प्रवृत्तिरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रिये होतव्याः (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—आ होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—आ तमितोरासोत (Tait Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

सपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे

छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सपितृदोर्द्वास्तोर्भावलक्षणेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन्प्रत्ययो भवति

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विलुपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विलुपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आदृषः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); १ जनुभ्य आदृषः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खल्वं प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्धातोः तत्रा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛtti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अलं and खलु' ? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition' ? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अन्नरोदनं 'do not weep'. Or if rule III 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माङ्गे व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माङ्गः, व्यतीहारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्गे धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानावुदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन तत्राप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'meñ' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपनिरत्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + ने + कृत्वा = अप + मा + ल्यप् = अप + नि + तुक् + य (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + निरत्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvā*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa वैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, वैप् does assume the form वाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अवाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed वृ ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः ज्ञा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अग्राण्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानकर्त्ता ययोर्ज्ञात्विधयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधारयथे वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आस्य व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य हस्तः स्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्त्वति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes prior action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये णमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ये, णमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्यविशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvâ' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes ktvâ and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पायं पायं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यदनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दोपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुजौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, ktvâ and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix ktvâ also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus यदयं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, यदयमधीते ततः शते, having eaten, he cooks; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have यदयं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एष ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुजौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वै वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वासस्तु (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and एमुन् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एमुन् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कजः खमुञ् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कजः,

खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृञो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ्, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुन् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारणाक्रोशति 'he reviles him a thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c. The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि शमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, शमुल्, (कजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वयेषूपपदेषु कृञो एमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verb 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerne

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or लवणंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a न्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a न् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्रीम् कृत्वा यवागम् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागम् भुङ्क्ते । Here though यवागम् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्री.

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुम्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम्'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix चिञ् and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुम् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अस्वाद्रीं स्वाद्रीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix लञ् in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix लुप् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुन्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवागमुज्जये देवहरोन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवकथमित्यंसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-
कथन-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कजः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कुत्रो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेभवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'vām' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to take), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same can be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence यवाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृच् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-
सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृञो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा त्वं द्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृच् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः,
साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्द्वास्तोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादर्शं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः
(णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवितेश्च एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jiv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वेषं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्तयोः पूरयतेऽमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pâr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरं स्त्रणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाण ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेऽर्द्धातोऽमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेऽन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन त्रैवर्षस्य प्रमाणमित्यन्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pâr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pâr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतापूरं or सीतापं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pâr' in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the *upapada*. Thus मूषिकाभिन्नपूरं or मूषिकाभिन्नपं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चले क्नीपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चले, क्नीपेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नीयो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माप्यन्ताद्वातोश्चैनाप्यं कर्मसु उपपत्तेषु एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्रीपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्नीव् 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्रीपं वृष्टो देवः or वल्लक्रीपं or वसनक्रीपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपद्योः कर्षेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकार्ष कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकार्ष कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकार्षकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chûrṇa' (powder), and 'rūksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्-रुज्-ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-रुज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृम् मर् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; न जीवमाहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भस्तिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उपपेचं पिनष्टि = उपकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेचं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vṛti) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्द्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पित्रपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. I. 68 Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणो बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणो, बंधः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कटुबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरकं बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषयं बध्नातेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attālikā-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोः यथासंख्यमनशिवहोर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'puruṣa' (person): expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes *i. e.* dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, *i. e.* the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेक्ष्यो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोदः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वं शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वं, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रीः,

शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशेषं शुष्यति वृत्तः = ऊर्ध्वं शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्वाःश्वशेषतृणवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूर् पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule II. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, कर्त्रीः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sâtra, by virtue of the word च also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee could be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of व; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is an agent: thus, भजनाशे नष्टः 'he perished like a goat'. So also सूडकनाशम्, न्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरित्येतवारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sâtra III. 4. 34 up to sâtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with the affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे यथाः) । See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by the same verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sâtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वंश इशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'danś' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samāsa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपवंशम् भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपवंशम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपवंशम् or आर्द्रकोणोपवंशम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपवंश, and 'instruments' of the verb भुञ्ज् ।

By the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix लवा (or its substitute स्वप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल् । Thus मूलकोपवश्च भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (णमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपघातः, त्वर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातूनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus इण्डोपघातम् गाः कालयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also इण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, इण्डताडम् or इण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् इण्डेनोपहृत्, गोपालको गाः कालयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pīḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'kṛish' (to draw)

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च । Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं शेते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वोपपीडम् ।

So also ब्रजोपरोधम् (or ब्रजे उपरोधम् or ब्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षं (or पाण्युपकर्षम् or पाणिनोपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति । It is Bhvādi कृष् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां,

णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशमाहम् (or केशेषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तमाहम् or हस्तेषु माहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also खड्गमाहम् 'taking a stick'; लोष्ट्रमाहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाणे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां;

णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाणम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलौत्कर्षं (or द्व्यङ्गुले उत्कर्षम् or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां,

णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word **परीप्सा** means 'haste, hurry'. Thus **शय्योत्थाय** (or **शय्याया उत्थाय**) **धावति** 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly **रन्ध्रापकर्षम् पयः पिबति** 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. **आवृण्पकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति** 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, **आसनादुत्थाय गच्छति** 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix **त्त** (ल्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus **यष्टिग्राहम्** (or **यष्टिं ग्राहम्**) **युध्यन्ते** 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly **लोष्ट्रग्राहम्** or **लोष्ट्रं ग्राहम्** ।

स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्लुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus **भ्रूविक्षेपं कथयति** 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. **अक्षिन्निकाणम् जल्पति** 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The **स्वाङ्ग** word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word **अध्रुक्** means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुन् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उरिक्तप्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेष or उरःपेषं युध्यन्ते = कृशन्मुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःपेषं or शिरःप्रतिपेषं ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥

विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विशयादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as विश् &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निश्चय and वीप्सः in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहगेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पष् and स्कन्द्. Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहगेहमनुप्रपाद or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहगेहमवस्कन्द or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्)।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of all or frequency? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *ābhikṣhna* was meant; and *ābhikṣhna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.* 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix त्त्वा", that is not so. For त्त्वा would come by वासस्वरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विश्व, पत्, पष्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अम् (*namul*), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः,

क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, शुभल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्तमानाभ्यामस्यतितृषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिषूपपदेषु एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix '*namul*' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus द्रव्यहारयास or द्रव्यहमस्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also द्रव्यहृतर्षे or द्रव्यहृतर्षे गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्'? Because the affix एमुन् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्रव्यहृतृषोः भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येषु गतः; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गा. पाययति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is त्यप् and not णमुन् ।

नाम्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशोर्महेश्च धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'â-diś' and 'grah', when the word 'nâman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामाहेशमाचष्टे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नाममाहं मामाह्वयति he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name).

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने रुजः क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, रुजः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमानं करोतेः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by त्यप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैः कृत्य, नीचैः कृत्वा, or नीचैः कार. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैः कारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as अण कण्वाते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैः कृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैः कारमाचष्टे"। (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैः कृत्वाऽऽचष्टे पुत्रस्ते जातः। Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽसकृत् (III, 1. 94), क्त्वा would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samāsa or composition, by the application of II, 2. 22. The repetition

of एमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti c ktvā and namul runs concurrently.

तिर्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृञः, क्त्वा-शुभ्रौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृञः त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛi', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठ गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away'. Here एमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्य, and not of the *word* तिर्यच्य । Other examples are: एतद्गोम (V. 3. 5); अदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्योः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये, कृ-भ्योः, (क्त्वा-शुभ्रौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतिर्भवतिश्च धातोः त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिन् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* त्वा and एमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कुर्य गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारं गतः । Similarly पृष्ठतः भूय तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भावं तिष्ठति ।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः ।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्य गतः, मुखी-भूय गतः ।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः ।

नाधार्यप्रत्यये ऋयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
च्यो-अर्थे, (कृभ्वोः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्यप्रत्यये शब्दे ऋयर्थउपपदे कृभ्वोर्धात्वोः तत्राणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यम्, धम् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः. Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वेधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in हिक् कृत्वा, वृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्ये ऋयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुन् and तत्रा. But that is not so. Thus the words हिक् 'except' and वृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिक् कृत्वा, or वृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्य qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा. The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींशब्दउपपदे मवर्तेर्धात्वोः तत्राणमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshñim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावं 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvritti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वच्यानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, कर्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्दपरे भवतेधातोरानुलोम्ये तत्राणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूव or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूया तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषज्ञागलाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्येषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥
शक-धृष-ज्ञा-गला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिष्वपरेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धातुमात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ज्ञायति—घटते—भारभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थग्रहणमस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निर्वेद्यितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यत्यनभवत्यपराधम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेदसम्यग् द्रष्टुम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition*.

पर्याप्तवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु धातोस्तुमन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tuman' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि जलाटे प्रोज्झितुम् कः समर्थः (IIitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकात् अलं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परित्यात् (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुं प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skillful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tuman* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *pariṣṭi*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ख्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like प्लुन् and दृच् &c. (III. I. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दन् 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपत्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachanīya',

'upasthâṇīya', 'janya', 'âplāvya' and 'âpātya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kṛitya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आग्राह्य = आग्राहतेऽसौ or आग्राह्यमनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed', आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गंधो माणवकः साम्नां 'the boy is the singer of the Sâma'; or गंधानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sâma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरुः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकाराः कर्मण्यकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लङ्, लिङ्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicative letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गन्धते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गन्धते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

**तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्त-
खलर्याः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः क्तखलार्थाश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here क्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कठो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकर 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदाड्यभवं भवता and स्वाड्यभवं भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya*, the *kta* and the *salārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्त देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'śliṣh' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन गतः ग्रामः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपश्रितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपश्रितो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपश्रितम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपश्रयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपश्रयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपश्रयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनुषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनुषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनुषितं भवता (act); अनुज्ञातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुज्ञाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुज्ञातं माणवकेन (act); आरूढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरूढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरूढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषलो वैवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषलो वैवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं वैवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्रित् &c. become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोघ्नी संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नी शब्दो सम्प्रदाने कारके निपादयेते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix भञ् under rule III. I. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c. and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै शतुं गां हन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपादयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unādi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + भुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unādi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words:—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, वरुः,

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhiḥāra* sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लृप् present, लिट् perfect, लृट् first future, लृट् second future, लोट् imperative लोट् Vedic subjunctive, लृट् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लृट् aorist, लृट् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicative ट्, and four have indicative ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, *i. e.* the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-थस्-य-मि-वस्-स्त-आताम्-ध्व-मि-व-हि-म-हि-ङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-थस्-य-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-भ-
शस्-आताम्-ध्वस्-इट्-वहि-महि-ङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबाद्य भादेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—
'tip', 'tas', 'jhi', 'sip', 'thas', 'tha', 'mip', 'vas', 'mas', 'ta',
'ātām' 'jha', 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam', 'iṭ', 'vahi', mahiṇ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. I. 33, &c Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लृट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The व in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. I. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽट् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicative letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses:—

PRESENT TENSE.—लृट् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	थ	से	भापे	ध्वे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ते	भाते	भग्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd. „	स्	तम्	त	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. „	त्	ताम्	भन्	त	आताम्	अन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	याम्	याव	याम	ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. „	यास्	यातम्	यात	ईथास्	ईयाथाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. „	यात्	याताम्	युस्	ईत	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	भानि	भाव	आम	ऐ	आवहे	आमहे
2nd. „	हि	तम्	त	स्व	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. „	तु	ताम्	अन्तु	ताम्	आताम्	अन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—जिङ् ।

1st. pers.	अ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. „	थ	अथुस्	अ	से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. „	अ	अतुस्	उस्	ए	आते	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्वस्	तासस्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तासहे
2nd. „	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य	तासे	तासाथे	ताध्वे
3rd. „	ता	तारौ	तारस्	ता	तारौ	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्	स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. „	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ	स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. „	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति	स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ् ।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स	सि	स्वहि	सहि
2nd. „	सीस्	सतम्	स्त	स्थास्	साथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. „	सीत्	स्ताम्	सुस्	स्त	साताम्	सत

PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—भाशीलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यासम्	यास्व	यास	सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. „	यास्	यास्तम्	यास्त	सीषास्	सीयाथाम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. „	यात्	यास्ताम्	यासुस्	सीष	सीयास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्यम्	स्याव	स्याम	स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. „	स्यस्	स्यतम्	स्यत	स्यथास्	स्येथाम्	स्यध्वम्
3rd. „	स्यत्	स्यताम्	स्यन्	स्यत	स्येताम्	स्यन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदानां, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो जकारस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ'.

The ज् or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ṭ are six:—जट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लैट् । In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes तं, आताम् becomes आते, स becomes स्ते &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, यजमानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तिङ् ।

यासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो जकारस्य यस्थास्तस्य सेशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिषे, पक्तासे, पढ्यसे ।

लिट्स्तभ्योरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-भ्योः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशोस्तभ्योर्यथासंख्यमेश् इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पेचे, पचाते पेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां शलतुसुस्थल्युल्लवमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, शल-अनुस्-उस्-यल्-अयुस्-अ-शल-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिवाहीनां एजादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing.	ṇal (अ)	thal (य)	ṇal (अ)
Dual.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अयुः)	va (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory **ञ्** in **णञ्** and **यञ्** is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory **ए** is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus **पपाच**, **पेचतुः**, **पेचुः**, **पेचिथ** or **पपक्थ**, **पेचथुः**, **पेच**, **पपाच** or **पपच**, **पेचिथ** **पेचिम** ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थलथुसखल्वाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्धातोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजादयो नव विकल्पे-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्ति	वेद or वेदि
Dual.	विदतुः or वित्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विम or विमः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थल, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पंचैव एजादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्निधौ न च ब्रुव आहगृह्य आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus **आह** 'he says'; **आहतुः** 'they two say'; **आहुः** 'they say'; **आथ** 'thou sayst'; **आथुः** 'you two say'; the rest like **ब्रू** as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आथ or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आथुः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूमः

The word **आदितः** 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word **ब्रुवः** in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be placed; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटी लङ्घत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्घत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्घत्कार्ये भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an **अतिदेश** sūtra; as in the **लङ्** there are the affixes **ताम्**, **तम्**, **त**, and **म**, so also in the **लोट**. Thus **पचताम्**, **पचतम्**, **पचत**, **पचाव**, **पचाम** ।

Q.—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for झि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामिकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिन्योरुत्त्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट्. In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and झि only, and does not apply to त् to which the next sūtra applies.

सेह्यपिञ्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प ।

Thus लूनीहि, पुनीहि, राधुहि, तक्षुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it हित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिङ्गवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट्, as two forms as मीयाहि or मीयीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, पि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अमे नय सुपर्णायाऽभस्मान्विभानिरेव युयुनान्विष्टान् ।

यु योध्यस्मदमुहुराणमेनोभूर्यष्टान्ते नमःउक्तिम्विधेम ॥

— Rig I. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda, 40. 16.

मेनिः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य मेनिरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि ।

आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आनिश्चयमादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वानौ ॥ ९१ ॥ प० ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अनौ, (लोटः, एतः)

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम् इत्येतावादेशो भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am' in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have सव, and for व्हे we have वधम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम् ।

आहुत्तमस्य पितृ ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पितृ, च, (लोटः)

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याडागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पितृवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'âṭ' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, भाव, भाग Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ये, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् उत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ । Thus पच + इहम् = पचावेहम्, पचाम + इहम् = पचामेहम् । Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of न and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣhā, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गदे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽहाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडादावागमौ भवतः पर्यायेण ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'āṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुप् + सिप् + अट् + त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; च्यावयाति। See III. 1. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारवेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'ē' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्मयेते, मन्मयेथे, करवैते, करवैथे। Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारवेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरं विधिरपेक्ष्यते। भात ऐ इत्वेतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus शयै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शयै, अहमेव पण्नासीशै, मया एव वो महा गृह्यान्तै, महैवत्यान्धे च व. पात्राण्युच्यान्तै। And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क च ते मनो वृक्षम् वृक्षसउत्तरम्।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्मयेते, मन्मयेथे।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे अवयवमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिषत्। In the alternative, it is not elided: as पताति विष्णुत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उर्धि च्यावयाति। The इ of इट्, बहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जेट्-सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं ङितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, ङितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ñ'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory इ are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and जृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (ङितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Pa-
raṣmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'ñ'.

Thus, for सि we have स्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Paraṣmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्थमिपां तातंततामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-मिपाम्,
तां-तं-त-आमः, (ङितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङित्कारसम्बन्धिनं चतुर्थीं यथासंख्यं तामाद्य आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'ām' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'ñ'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्तम् ।

लिङ्स्वीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां सीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'siyuṭ'.

The इ of सीयुट् is indicative and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ऊ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the स् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन् । In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीट्, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन् ।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो लिङ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, डित्, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेष्वयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, लिङ्च ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicative 'i'.

This debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicative; the real augment is वास्. All augments being anudatta, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word udatta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicative इ, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicative इ, the repetition of the word डित् in this sūtra shows the existence of the paribhāṣā "that the इ belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicative इ (लकाराभ्यङ्गिस्वमादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the स् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस् । For the Benedictive लिङ्, the following sūtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङ्, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किङ्कृतवति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsut' comes after that 'liṁ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liṁ' are as if they had an indicative 'k'.

The कित् of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already **ङित्** by the last rule. **ङित्** and **कित्** are equal in prohibiting *guṇa* and *vriddhi*, but **ङित्** is distinguished from **कित्** inasmuch as **ङित्** causes the *guṇa* of **जागृ** (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus **इष्यात्**, **इष्यास्तात्**, **इष्यात्सुः**, and **जागर्थात्**, **जागर्थास्तात्** and **जागर्थात्सुः**. In the Potential, **वच्यात्** (no *samprasāraṇa*); in the Benedictive, **उच्यात्** (vocalisation). So also **जागृयात्** in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य लिङादेशस्य रञ्जितययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The **झ** in other places, is replaced generally by **अन्त** (VII. 1. 3), but in **लिङ्**, it is replaced by **रन्**. Thus **पचेरन्**, **यजेरन्**, **कृषीरन्**.

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदिरययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the *Atmanepada* first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus **पचेय**, **यजेय**, **कृषीय**, **इषीय** ।

Q.—In the *sūtra*, the word **अत्** is used, and the final **त्** belongs to the **विभक्ति**, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this **त्** is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This **त्** is not any portion or member of the substitute **अत्**; it is added to **अ** merely for the sake of euphony.

The **इट्** refers to the **आत्मनेपद** affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment **इट्** on the strength of the maxim **अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थक्यम्**. A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोस्तकारयकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters **त** and **थ** are the objects to which the augment **सुट्** is to be added; provided that the **त** and **थ** are the initial of the affixes employed in **लिङ्**.

The augment **झीयुट्** is applied to **लिङ्** as such; in other words, **लिङ्** is

there the आगमी; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त् and थ are the आगमी। The scope of सीयुट्, and सुट्, being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीयास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीष्ठा, कृषीयास्थाम्। In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भेः, जुस्, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य भेर्जुस् आवेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पचद्, यजेद् ।

सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेभ्योत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ñ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the लङ् and लुङ् ।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच् । The word ङितः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अक्रावुः, अहार्षुः । Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अबिभयुः, अजिह्वुः, अजागरुः । In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः ।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच् आकारान्ताच्च परस्य भेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus भद्, अधुः, अस्युः । In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of सिच् where the verbs end in long आ । In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace सिच् ।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. I. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (भेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तः कृतरस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sâkaṭâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'â'.

Thus अजुः, अज् । In the alternative, we have अयान् and अवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to झित्तenses, of which लुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other झित् tense (like लिङ् or रुङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ्, as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus बिभ्यन्तु, जामन्तु, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, झेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sâkaṭâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पठ ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sârva dhâtuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वपति, रोदिति, पचमानः, पद्यमानः। लिट् and आशीर्जिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ् शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्देन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tin', and those with an indicatory 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes ह, तुम्, त्वयम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—ज्वित्, ज्वितुम्, ज्वित्वयम् । Here the augment इद् is added, because of these affixes being called *ārdhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛtti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun लू, is not called an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, and therefore we have लूभ्याम्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ārdhadhātuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes स्त्वं and त्ता in the words वृत्तस्त्वं and वृत्तत्ता are not *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5 the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिन् and कित् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ārdhadhātuka*, and does not take the augment इद्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिडावशस्तिङाङ्धातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called *sārvadhātuka* and, being *ārdhadhātuka*, some of them take the augment इद्; as पेक्षिथ, शेक्षिथ । Moreover by their being *ārdhadhātuka* they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from ग्लै (ग्ला, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ārdhadhātuka*; similarly मग्ले from म्ग्ले ।

लिङाशिषि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sārvadhātuka*. Being *ārdhadhātuka* they take the augment इद्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप् &c. Thus from the root लू 'to cut', we have in the भाशीर्लिङ्, लविसीङ्; and from the root पू 'to purify', पविषीङ्. But in the विधिर्लिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as लुनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दसुभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârva-dhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the लिङ् and शिप् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु एवा सुष्टुतयः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the एच् by rule VI. 4 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârvadhâtuka* affixes; as विशृण्विरे; here the affixes of the लिङ् are treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and so there is the Vikarana भृ and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि+भृ+भृ+इरे=वि+शृ+नु+इरे (III. 1. 74) =वि+शृ+न्व्+इरे (VI. 4. 87)=विशृण्विरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम् शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârvadhâtuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of स्था is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for अस् as required by II. 4. 52.



OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Indian Union, (Allahabad), 26th November, 1891.—* * * The original Text and Commentaries, carefully edited with English notes and explanations, bespeak of much diligence, care and ability; and those of the English-reading public who have a taste for Sanskrit cannot be too thankful to Babu Sris Chandra for offering them so easy an access to the intricate regions reigned over by that Master Grammarian. * * * We recommend this book to all English-knowing lovers of the Sanskrit Language.

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BOOK IV.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

SRISA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Provincial Civil Service, N. W. P.



G e n e r a l s .

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1896.

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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāśikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāśikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāśikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtādhyaṣi*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *padas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

With this Book ends the subscription of those of our subscribers who had paid half subscription. The undersigned, therefore, gives notice that he will employ the V. P. P. system for renewals of subscription. Subscribers who have not paid the full amount, will kindly take notice that the Fifth Book, which is in the press, will be sent to them per V. P. P. in December next, unless they remit their subscription earlier.

BANARAS CANT.
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g, is being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word **रूपाय् प्रातिपदिकात्** is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective Samskṛita compound of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases **प्रकृति** which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations : that the word *ङचाप् प्रतिपदिकात्* should qualify the words 'ङ्' 'अङ्', 'the letter अ,' 'अनुशात्तारि', and 'ङ्याप्', wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says : "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'ni' or 'ap'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares :—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction." Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *किम्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'āmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्', because the word 'jñānam' the genitive plural of 'jñā', is a Vṛiddha word ? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. 1. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānam' is 'jñā', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञथो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अङ्' (sūtra IV. 1. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word *अङ्* in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix *ङ्* is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were no so; then the affix 'ङ्' will apply only to the word 'वक्षस्य' in 'वक्षस्थापत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'वक्षयोः', or 'वक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'वक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'वक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'ङ्' applies to all these three words.

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुवाचिः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इच्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'खचः' which in construction are *anudâtâdi* as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'खचो विकारः' (VI. I. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, खच्) are *udâtâdi*. And conversely, the affix 'अम्' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is *udâtâdi*, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is *anudâtâdi*.

(5). Similarly the word 'ह्यच्' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'ङ्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word *prâtipadika*. That is, the word in its *prâtipadika* state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति,' while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'खचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'खचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'îy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prâtipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhâshâ*:—"A *prâtipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." ?

A. Not so. The *paribhâshâ* you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the *Sûtra* itself. In other words, "this *paribhâshâ* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prâtipadikas* generally (as the word '*prâtipadika*' does in this *sûtra*) or denotes a particular *prâtipadika*, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलित, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form *yuvâ*, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, आर् have been employed in the *Sûtra*, in order to make the *Taddhita* affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आर्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the *Taddhita* affix तरप् : as 'कालितरा', 'हरिणितरा', 'खट्वातरा', and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'îy-âp' in the *Sûtra*, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितर ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ण्य-अप ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ण्य-अप, it is shown that first the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम-औद्-शस्, दा-भ्याम्भिस्, ङे-भ्याम्भ्यस्, ङसि-भ्याम्भ्यस्,
ङस् ओस्-आम्, ङि-ओस्-सुप् (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ie (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ñasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	has (as)	os	ām
7th.	ni (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ङ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final ण् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, नौरी ; by डीप् as शार्ङ्गरी ; by दाप् as खट्वा ; by डाप् as बहुराजा ; and by आप् as कारीष गन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prātipadika. as. कृषत् ।

कुमारी ।			
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु
खट्वा ।			
1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वानाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु
दृषद् ।			
1st	दृषद्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
2nd	दृषदम्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
3rd	दृषदा	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषदाभिः
4th	दृषदे	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
5th	दृषदः	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
6th	दृषदः	दृषदोः	दृषदाम्
7th	दृषदि	दृषदोः	दृषदसु

The words गौरी and चार्ङ्गरी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

शक्तिः ॥ अधिकारोपम् । यस्मिन् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words स्त्री-भाष् ; for we are now going to form words by the application of स्त्री and भाष् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ड्याप् ०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अन् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory न् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtira should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभंया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभंयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmâni'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------|-------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अश्व | अश्वा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nîsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | 9. पाक | पाका |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन् | मन्दा | 12. विलात | विलाता |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being द्वि would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sūtra.

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| 15. संफल, | संफला; | 16. भक्षफल; | भक्षफला; |
| 17. अजिनफल, | अजिनफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | 20. त्रिफल, | त्रिफला; |

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class ; 'विकला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विकला ; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is विकली ॥

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 21. सत्पुष्प, | सत्पुष्पा; | 22. प्राकृपुष्प, | प्राकृपुष्पा; |
| 23. काण्डपुष्प, | काण्डपुष्पा; | 24. प्रान्तपुष्प, | प्रान्तपुष्पा; |
| 25. शतपुष्प, | शतपुष्पा; | 26. एकपुष्प. | एकपुष्पा; |

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64. .

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word गृहत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras : and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile : the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. कुंश् कुंशा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविष् देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'टप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle ना, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥

शुचिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter इ is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीन् ; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई । Thus, कर्तृ—f. कर्त्री; हर्तृ—f. हर्त्री; शण्डिन्—f. शण्डिनी; छत्रिन्,—f. छत्रिनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उङ् इत् यत्रसंभवति यथा कथञ्चित् तदुगिच्छद्भरूपं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धातोः उगितः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्धेते श्रोपसंख्यातम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or लृ) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ऋ and लृ । Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् । That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as तृ meaning तृ in VI. 4. 127, ("तृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवतु—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचतु (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the तुभ comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्धन् अर्धती 'a mare'.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots ऋसु 'to fall down', ध्वसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासन् and पर्णध्वन्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासन् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णध्वन् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ।

Vārt:—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् । As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उदीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति रेफान्तादेशः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वनो न ह्यः ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिप् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light, So also परलोकवृधरी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्यनिप्, (III. 2. 103) वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vārt.—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हृष्, (a letter of हृष् pratyāhāha), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुवन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुव्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हृष् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to शु, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पाड् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपाद् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाड् being replaced by पड् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपाद् or त्रिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

दावृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word enotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have present-
ed themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇī ladies'. So also सप्त,
१, द्वा &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrādi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननाम्ना 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', चतस्रः 'four',

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prātipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus शमन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—I. s. शमा; d. शमानौ; pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words शमन् (शो + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhāṣa :—अनिनसमन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुषर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुषर्वा सुषर्वाणौ, सुषर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrīhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आंतराजन् is an Avyayibhāva compound, its feminine will be अतिराजी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्ताद्य बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डीप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डीप्, the letter ड् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डीप् = पाम् + आ = पामा, This being an optional rule we have I. 5 पामा d, पामि or पामानौ, p, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमो, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,

बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,

बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥

बहुतक्षा,

बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणी,

बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say “optionally” ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीप् are optional : we may apply the affix डीप् instead. As :— बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादिष्वेवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to ‘upasarjanas’. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sūtra declares “the affix णिप् is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative द्, & c.” Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix णि (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीप् स कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—/मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix डीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 3 says, “the affix डीप् is added after words denoting jāti” as, कुक्कुटी, शुक्ररी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, ‘nish’ will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुटा बहुशुक्रा मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present tra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjuna), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकासी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसञ्जद्वयमात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करणः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसञ्-द्वयमात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-करणः (अतः स्त्रिया-
म् डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिङ्दिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ न मूलमीककुरुद्युन्तलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसञ्, or द्वाञ्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or कवरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛtit from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 16). of which ट् is indicative.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पञ्चमान, formed by the affix शानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicative ट्, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicative ट् (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not दित् as it has two indicator letters, ल् and ट्'.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ह्युट् should also be called no ङि affixes, as they have also two indicator letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ह्युट् be not regarded दित्, then the indicator ट् of ह्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicator ट् of लट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पञ्चमान will be पञ्चमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi

catory **ट्** of augments will not cause the application of the affix **डीप्**; thus **पठिता विद्या** ॥ Here the feminine of **पठिता** is formed by **आ** and not **इ**. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment **तुट्** is added to the affixes **टुप्** and **टुप्ल्**". If the **ट्** of **तुट्** could have made the affix **टिन्** for the purposes of this present sūtra; the anubandha **ट्** had been unnecessarily added to the affixes **टु** and **टुल्** in the above.

(2) Of words ending in **ट** we have, m, **सौपर्ण्य** f. **सौपर्ण्यी** so also f. **वैनतेयी**. The **ट** stands for the affix **ढक्**; and it is replaced by **एय्** (VII. 1. 2). Thus **सुपर्णा + ढक्** (IV. 1. 120) = **सुपर्णा + एय = सौपर्ण्य** (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely **ट** without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is **ढक्** ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the **ट** of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less **ट** of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in **अण्**, we have already said that the affix, **अण्** here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṇ'. Thus with the kṛit affix **अण्** we have **कुम्भकार** and **नगरकार** (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is **कुम्भकारी** and **नगरकारी** ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṇ' we have **औपगव** (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is **औपगवी** ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix **ण** are operated upon as if they were formed by **अण्** ॥ Thus **चौरी**, **तापसी** are the feminine of **चौर** and **तापस** (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by **ण** are not so treated, as **क्षण्डा**, **मोष्टा** (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by **अञ्** as **औत्स** f. **औत्सी**, **औदपान**, f. **औदपानी**, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix **डीन्** would have come after the words ending in **अञ्**, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix **डीप्** which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ñish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes **द्वयसच्**, **द्वयच्** and **मात्रच्** are added by V. 2. 37; as, **द्वयसी**, **ऊरुद्वयी**, **ऊरुमात्री** 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly **जानुद्वयसी**, **जानुद्वयी**, **जानुमात्री** ॥

(6) So also with words formed by **तयच्** (V. 2. 42). As **पञ्चतयी** 'of which the parts are five' so also **दशतयी** ॥

(7) So also with words ending in **ढक्** (IV. 4. 1) as, **आक्षिकी** 'a female cer', **शालाक्षिकी**. The **ट** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in **ढस्** (V. 1. 18): as, **लावणिकी** 'elegant'. The affixes **ढक्** and **ढस्** are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix **ढक्** &c. For had the word **ट** merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes **ढक्**, **ढक्** and **ढस्**, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कच् (III. 2. 60) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इक्ष्वरी 'swift', नश्वरी ॥

Vārt :—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and स्तञ् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकच् (IV. 4. 59) and क्युन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', वौस्त्री 'a male', शान्तीक्री 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यंकरणी 'enriching', तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

यञञ्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कृतव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vārt :—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वीप्य of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वीप्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचांमाचार्याणां मंतन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix स्फ is replaced by the substitute आद्यन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्याद्यनी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says:—'the affix चाप् comes after भावव्य' ॥ Here भावव्य ends in यम्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word भावव्य would have taken the affix णिप्: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus आवव्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,
(यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yau.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prātipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, शांशित्यायनी, तन्त्र्यायणी ॥

Kārikā कण्वाल्मु शकलः पूर्वः कतावुत्तर इष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरो तदन्तादी ष्फाणो तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately *before* कण्व and *after* कत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शकलः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्येयं गणाः 'the pupils of Śākalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरासुरेण्यसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV. 1. 1), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणा, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

Vārt:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravy and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix ई added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शाषिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्राक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यस्मात्पदिक् श्रुत्यावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form the feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age'? Observe स्थविरा 'an old woman' वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vārt:—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वयूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लेहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus रश्मपूली, पञ्चपूली ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज' &c (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (डीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणान्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'ñip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolaḥs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ङम् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by टाप्, thus, पञ्चश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 Vart.) So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, व्याचिता, तपाचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a measure?' Observe द्वाढकी, तपाढकी "a female purchased for two or three ḍhaka". Here ḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ñip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे बाध्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ātp' but by दाप्; so also त्रिकाण्ड क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधस्, डीप् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोऽधस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोऽधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13, ante; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोऽधनी (VI. 4. 134)^a 'a woman with full bosom'; पशोऽधनी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्ता भेदाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे डीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, डीप् (बहुव्रीहे रूधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरूधसशब्दान्तान् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix डीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nish'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनङ् + डीप् (V. 4. 131) = द्व्यूध्री 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूध्री, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्र्यूध्री 'many-uddered'; निर्यूध्री 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोध्री and त्रिविधोध्री, in which the words 'dvidha' and 'tridha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्दामशब्दान्ताद्धायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix डीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of डीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sûtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विदामी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदामी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt.—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अन्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a bha affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणो, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्ग्रन्थान्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चदात्री, एकदात्री, द्विदात्री 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकसुध्रां समानसुध्रां ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, (संज्ञाछन्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus वली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when it denotes a Name; so also मामकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भाग-यी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपराभ्योमघवा विजग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 3) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda I. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्विषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिशब्दात् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ अजसादिष्वितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix त्स (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा. रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

Vārt :—According to Kātyāyana, nīp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटलैर-सुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātri' which is formed by the feminine affix nīp; and not by nīsh. The forms evolved by adding डीप् or डीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by nīsh has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीप् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take ङीप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वती and पतिवती ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following:—प्रथते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वती; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मत्). Because मत् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मत् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नृक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्त्वती or सान्त्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पति वाच्यं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पती means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanī is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पती means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पती is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥३३॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् । लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वत्युर्नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां डीप्)
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामैकारादेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word क्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकारादेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीद have udatta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sū II. 19), the feminine of these has udatta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udatta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1) their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udatta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसितायी 'the wife of Kusita'. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष्, See VI. 1. 203.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दान् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चन्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udatta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'. The word मनु has udatta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्ताद्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा डीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुशब्दान्तात्कारोपधात्वाङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्कारस्य च नकारदेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिशाङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्रमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीव्यते ॥

39. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter; and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so रथेता or रथेनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udatta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (अित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory न् or त् have udatta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes तन् (Uṇ III. 86) and तत् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तर्णतिनितान्तानाम् "of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel").

Why do we say "expressive of color"? (Observe प्रहता, प्रहृता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 प्रतिरन्तरः "the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *ṛati* word with a word formed by the affix *kta*"). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take *nīp*.

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color', yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words *ghṛita* &c. have udātta on the final").

Why do we say "having the letter त् as its penultimate letter"? Otherwise the affix *nīsh* will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी 'a black Brahmanī woman'. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्, has anudātta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with *nīp*.

Vārt :—The affix *nīp* comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी 'of tawny color'.

Vārt :—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey'.

Vārt :—According to some, the substitute कृष् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्री (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्री (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic :—As गतो गणस्तुण्मासिक्रिकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोडीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीष्, (वर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥
[ति ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i.e. after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between *nīp* and *nīsh* affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पायी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply.
खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

विदूगौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) वृत्तिः ॥ पिङ्गवः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicator व् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sûtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वन्) the affix ष्वन् is added to root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the word so formed, will take ङीष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रजकी 'dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गौरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurâdi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शुङ्ग, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 सुकय, 9 ऋष्य, 10 पुट, 11 तृण, 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण; 14 हरिण, 15 काकण, (काकण,) 16 पट, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बबर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्प, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलङ्ग 28 शष्पण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलम्ब 33 गङ्ग 34 बाण्डश 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सुपाद, 39 आश्वक (आपश्विक), 40 शष्पक, 41 सूर्य (सूर्म) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 शूष (पूष) 45 शूथ, 46 सुप, 47 मेथ, 48 वल्क, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (स) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मड, 61 छद्, 62 पेश, 63 मेद, 64 श्व 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनड्वाही, 68 । एषणः करण । 69 वेह, 70 देहल, 71 काकाद 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औदाहमानि (औदाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गौतम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिङ्गि, 83 श 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आर्लाज, 87 आलम्बि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक, 91 आरद, 92 नट, 93 दोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलाट, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाट (पानट) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्सेजायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गूर्द, 117 शम, 118 सूड, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हर्द (हूर्द) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कर्द, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहत्, 131 महत् 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 बिकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छ्रोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कौशातकी, 143 शमी, 144 बरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रौष्टु, 148 मातामह 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेढ, 151 सुत्र, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक, 154 आलिङ्गि, 155 पावक, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 रहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate व would

not have taken *nīp* (IV. 1. 63) but for this *sūtra*; *धन्* and *तक्षन्* would have taken *डाप्* (IV. 1. 13), *एषण* is formed by *ल्युट्* and would have taken *nīp* (IV. 1. 15) *एष्येतऽनया* = *एषणी* 'a balance, a probe'. *गौतम* would take *nīn* also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *varṭika* *मातारं पिब* given under IV. 2. 36, the affix *आमह* in *मातामह* is created as having an indicative *ष* ॥ The word *मातामह* will take *डीप्* because it is *बिन्*; its inclusion in the list of *Gaurādi* indicates that the rule of *डीप्* application, because a word is *बिन्*, is not universal (*अनित्य. बिन् लक्षणं डीप्*) ॥ Therefore we have forms like *वृष्टा* &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति
माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान-
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरात्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अव-
पन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रि-
यांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix *डीप्* is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कवर; the affix *डीप्* is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपरी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix *अन्* to *janapada*, by *sūtra* IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to *Utsadi* class of words: in forming the feminine the affix *डीप्* will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थल as स्थलयेदं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a *guṇa-vachana* word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix *nīsh* in the feminine; otherwise डाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a *jati-*

vachana word it takes डीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काल 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्योणां मतेन स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By Phit Sūtra II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken डीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a niyama rule and restricts the application of डीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

बोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनान् प्रातिपदिकाद् उक्तागन्तान् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनान् डाबाद्युदात्तार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खरसंयोगोपधात्पक्षेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhya* or *sarvaśman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पटुी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृदुी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आबुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vart.—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix डीष् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac

cented. As, वस्त्री ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vñ I. 10) and is ādyudātta because the उ is नित् ॥

Vñrt.—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्वरु, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्वरुस्य ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु वृश्यते ।

आधेयभाक्रियाजम् सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बह्नादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-डीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvāli class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्धति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अङ्गति, 5 अंहति, 6 शक्ति, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति, 11 राधि, 12 शधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 यदि, 16 नि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगात् । 18 कृत्कारावन्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽन्तिन्नर्थास्त्येके । 20 अण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कुट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्र-गान्ध्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 बाण, 40 शुद्ध ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix णिश् also comes optionally after words ending in short इ ending the names of the limbs of animals ; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not न्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix णिश् may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix न्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have optionally taken णिश् even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it necessarily takes णिश् in the Chhandas. It is an Ākṛitigaṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बह्नादिभ्यः स्त्रियां-डीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बह्नादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हिता प्रपिबन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योच्चारिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix डीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विम्बी, प्रम्बी, सुम्बी, शम्बी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भू? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विम्बी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sūtra IV. I. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sūtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्वेत्तो धैत्यादिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मान् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाब् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsā) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणक्री, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रथी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणक्री ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by दाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sūtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattā, and Yajñadattā, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sūtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिक and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vârt :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had डीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then दाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरण्ययव यवनमातुलआचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-रण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,
(स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमरण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाहाषे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनालिप्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यावृणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्थक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्रलाच्छन्वसि लिङ् ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix डीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix डीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix डीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडाणी 'the wife of Mṛḍa'.

Vârt :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vârt :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vārt :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vārt :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vārt :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vārt :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्यी 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रियी 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vārt :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिटि). Thus रथारभून् मुद्गलानी गविदो ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse—
सा हितस्य धनक्रीता प्राणेषोपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix दाप् form

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुधने: "Gati, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. I. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात् कान्तदल्पाख्यायां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अश्वविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पानी 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmaṇī lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेऽन्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (कात् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोऽक्षस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोऽक्षज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थं विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुवत्सुकाल सुखादिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svāṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svāṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As हस्तभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोल्कनी (गलमुल्कतमस्या), केचालूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंस &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पाक्षपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle ज्ञान 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'; स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt.*

Vārt.—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निताक्षिकं यस्यापाणिगृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vārt.—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words :—बहु, नम्र, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् कान्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजग्ध, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svānga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजग्धी or शार्ङ्गजग्धा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुरापिती or सुरापिता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शंसमिन्नी, ऊरुमिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. A वसन्छन्ना and वसन्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI

, 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vart.—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As मृद्वक्षिणी or वृद्धविलुनी ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जना-
त्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गव्युपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अङ्गावकादेश्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix डीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words बह्व्रीहे, कान्तादन्तोशान्ता does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अति-
हारा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana
by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगल्फा, सिपार्था ॥

Vart.—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus वृद्धी or मृद्वङ्गा; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वाङ्ग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse :—

अद्वयं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्थं तच्चवृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is *svāṅga*; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, दीर्घजंघी or दीर्घजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words वक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिवह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्तात् बहुजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c. of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणशृङ्गा, कल्याणोष्ठा, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणशक्ता, कल्याणगुदा, कल्याणघाणा ॥ So also सुमगा, सुमला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजयना, पृथुजयना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrihi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I, 2. 48),

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सक्तेशा, अक्तेशा विद्यमानकेशा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमान-नासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa. The न् changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम्) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, तलमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्वा but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेद् ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvī* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvī* in the sūtra, it is indicated at the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदात् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, डीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीप्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been डीष्, the present enjoins डीष् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीष् being anudātta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्राङ्नासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा; or प्राङ्कोडा or प्राङ्जघना because these words do not take डीष् (by IV. 1. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीष् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svāng; word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant (2) but डीष् is not added to Compounds ending in कोडा &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीष् is the substitute of डीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीष् will come only there, where else the affix डीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीष् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of डीष् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीष्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus वित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—वित्य + वाह् + डीष् = वित्य + ऊह् + आह् + डीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह्, Uṭh is the samprasaraṇa of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = वित्य + ऊह् + डीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = वित्यौही (VI. 1. 89 एत्येधत्वरसु 'vriddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ûṭh* follow'). Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिश्नीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्नी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्नी इत्येतौशब्दौ डीष्पन्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्नी are irregular forms ending in डीष् found in secular (or vernacular) as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नात्याः शिशरस्तीति = अशिश्नी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपरींभव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as भार्गवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥ सखा सप्तपरी भव ॥

जातिरस्त्री विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यस्मात्पठिकं नच स्त्रियामेव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधं तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हय गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; क्री 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmaṇī', वृषली 'a woman of the Śūdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कटी 'a woman of Brahmins who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmins who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a male of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have penultimate य् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धित-य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मल्ली ॥ The य् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ण्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (VI. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रावृर्भावनिशाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्वर्गुणैः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बह्वीं तां जातौ कवयो विवुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

ते ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदाच्च यतोनेष्यते तद्व्यादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सप्ताक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशाण विण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मुलान्नमः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denote females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus ओदनपात्र, शोककुणी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली, वर्भमूली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajâdi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां डीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ इक्रोरान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dākshī'. Thur अवन्ति + ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. दाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दत् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men"? Witness तिलचिरिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य्. Thus औदमयी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jâti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिन्ती ॥ The affix इञ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सतंगम &c, and does not denote a jâti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां)

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियामुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातिभारज्ज्वाहीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read in the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kuru', ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धुः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus कुरु + ण्व = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form करु (कुरु + उ = कुरु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrīhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter ष as its penultimate"? Witness अवर्धयन्त्राङ्गणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart:—The affix ऊङ्, comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus भल्लङ्: 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जु: 'rope'; हन्तुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता व्यातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhū'; आलबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृषबाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्कोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

प्रासिकम् ॥ भ्रसुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

Vart:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to भ्रसुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter भ of the word. As भ्रसुः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṇyoga जीष् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कदलास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नागनासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकारं च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमदि. प्रातिपदिकादूरुत्तरपदान् स्त्रियामृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot,' लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vart.—So also with the words संहित and सह. As संहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजलुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुध्वे सुपर्णा च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलुं शूद्राय दद्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vart.—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जलु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुमधुः, जलुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्तोर्थे वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रू : 'a female named Kadrū wife of Kāśyapa', कमण्डलू : 'Kamaṇḍalū'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रू : 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलू : 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो डीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञ्, डीन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽमन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix डीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sārṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kāpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैत्री 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debar the affix डीप् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that डीप् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the डीप् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between डीप् and डीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by डीन् will have udātta accent on the first syllable जित्यातिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicative ञ् or न् has udātta accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by डीप् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैत्री 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैत्री 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sārṅgaravādi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैक, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण् the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृङ्ग, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123) except kamaṇḍaleya which is formed by ढम् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन. 13 मौञ्जयन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 शैव्य are formed by ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि. 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभ्रमरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 षण्डाल, 23 वतण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिमन् ॥ These take डीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently उणिन्, and should have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains डीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by घञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are ādyuddātta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मनुप् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for matup being पिन् is anudātta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether डीप् be added or डीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain ādyudātta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply घादिषु निव्यम् ह्रस्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken डीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking डीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by डीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken डीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take वृद्धि before डीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । यङः व्यङ्ग्य सामान्यग्रहणमेतत् ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ वाच यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix यङ् or व्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and व्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बुजा 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, करीषगन्धा, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यप् when the letter प immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौत्तिमाश्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken डीप् ॥

The प् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term आप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment व्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the य when पुष or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुषः and not गौकाक्षीपुषः ॥

आवट्याश्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवट्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवट्याश्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवव्य ॥

The word अववद् belongs to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking वप्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवव्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवव्यानी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्त्यनित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adbhikâra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prâtipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य मासौ ॥ अमादि पञ्चाङ्ग डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अपिम, भाविम. पश्चिम ॥ See Vârt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृचद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्वाद्याप्यातिपरिकान् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, डीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix डीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्थयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अना-
र्थयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, प्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावज्जिञौ विहितानार्थौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपरिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्गो भवति ।
नेरिद्वयमानस्याहेषा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उच्यते ॥ स्वभावात् विप्रभृतीनामन्यतरमाह उच्यते
समीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपरिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (व्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिम्रो: 'of अण् and इम्,' (2) अनार्षयो: 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरु-पोत्तमयो: 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) व्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इम् are replaced by व्यङ् before the feminine affix चार्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c.

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ज्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चार् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by व्यङ् and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धि: gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहि: gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from कृतभाग ॥ Here the word कृतभाग belongs to बिराहि gāṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अम् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अम् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापदवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja',

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां व्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिम्रोऽस्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुणिकपुणिकमुखप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिम्रोः स्त्रियां व्यङ्ङादेशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिमोः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरुपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, भुङ्गिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पाणिग्न्या, गैणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like देवदत्त्या याज्ञदत्त्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to the immediate descendant, such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a samadharaya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however, technically called कुल ॥

कौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां व्यङ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां व्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोत्तमार्थं आरम्भः । अनणिमर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix व्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इप् ॥ In fact व्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौड्या 'a female Krauḍi', गड्या 'a female Lāḍi'. The following is the list of Krauḍādi words:—

1 कौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इप् (IV. 1. 95). 6 चापयत्, 7 चेदयत् ('वैदयत्'), 8 सेकयत् ('शैकयत्') 9 वैल्वयत् ('वैकल्पयत्'), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इप् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97) added to सुधात् ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम्. The word सूत takes व्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सुत्याः; otherwise सूता 'a laughter', formed by टप्, or सूती by डीप् denoting a jāti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This lebars डीप् of jāti as भोज्याः, otherwise टप् as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौदि, 15 भौरक्की, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शात्मलि, 18 शालात्यलि, 19 कापिष्ठिकि, 20 गौकश्य (गौलश्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इप्, the last is formed by यस् of Gargādi class.

वैवयक्षि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥

वैवयक्षि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैवयक्षि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यां व्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix व्यङ् optionally comes after the words वैवयक्षि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इप्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when ण्यङ् is not added, डीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 *ante*. Thus देवयज्ञ्या or देवयज्ञी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुन्या or सात्युमनी, काण्डेविद्या or काण्डेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमप्यधिक्रियते. समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिभायमधिकारः । प्राग्विशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चित्रित्यमं-
व भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमासीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये
सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां
मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्विशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्य पत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his' : i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As उपगोरपत्यं = भोपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix भन् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1) ; here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which' ; as कषायण रक्तं कषाय = काषायन्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashāya*. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there': as सुप्ते भवः=सौप्तः 'who stays in Sruḡhna'.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the *first* is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word amāsa); as उपगवपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2. Because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one could know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

४३ ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संज्ञानां यावन्त ऊर्ध्वमनुकर्मिण्यामाऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism प्राग् दीव्यति &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikāra sūtra or a paribhāṣā sūtra or a ni sūtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present form and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of Upagu'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sāma-veda (IV. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्शीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stem 'agvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena dīvyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण् would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoin अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वचामि 'when Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory ष् or ण्, there is vṛddhi in the root of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4 14 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a *bhu*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदान्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाश्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्शीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या आम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषाष्टिलोपञ्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ्छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थाप्नोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लोभोपत्येषु बहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यदयोर्धिविशेषलक्षणादपवादस्तद्विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dīvyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi' आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापतिः ण्य = प्राजापत्यं; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word यम; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vārt :—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमन् ॥ As वाच्यं (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vātr.—The affixes ऋ and अस् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ऋ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अस् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पाथ्यवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vārt.—The affixes यस् and अस् come after the word देव 'a god'. As देव्यम् or देवम् 'divine'.

Vārt.—There is elision of the टि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यस् ; as बहिस् + यस् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt.*—and the affix ईकृक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकृक् = बहिःकृक् 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is viddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory कृ). *Vārt.*—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकृक् as बहिःकृक् the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ bha. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the टि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya भारान् we get भाराती &c ; here the टि is not elided.

Vārt.—Of the word स्थामन् the टि is replaced by अ as अस्थायामः ॥

Vārt.—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as उडुलोमाः, शरलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness औडुलोमिः, शरलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vārt.—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो हितं or आगतं = गोरुप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vārt.—These affixes प्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words विति &c अण् will not be employed, but प्य, as देव्य "a descendant of विति". So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वनस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word विति but from वित्ती, the feminine of the word विति, formed by the affix डीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word विति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word वित्ती is added इक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣhā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *दैतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or any *Vārtika*.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तत्पवासानां च बाधकः ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ मीमादच्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-dīvyati* &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औत्सानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उत्सान, 9 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशनिर, 20 मीष्म, 21 पीतुकुण, । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृष संश, 24 भल्लक्रीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्येदिन, 28 बृहन्, 28 महन्, 29 सचन्, 30 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उणिर्, 34 ककुम्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 मीमादच्छन्दसि ॥

Vārt:—The word मीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : मैष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But मैष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्दस् here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वष्कयासे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असि meaning असमाप्ति, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवष्कयिः ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, *tadantavidhi* applies here and we have अधिनवम् (अधिनृनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः; otherwise औदस्थनिः 'the son of Udashthāna.' The word पृषन् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽंशः ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्त्री भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्येनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञाध्वनार्यास्तेषु स्त्री ष्वात्पुंसाभ्यां यथाक्रमं नञ्स्त्री प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and स्त्री come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम् 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various, Therefore

he word **स्त्रीणम्** will have all those various significations ; thus, it will mean either **स्त्रीषुभवं** (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or **स्त्रीणां समूहः** (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,;' or **स्त्रीभ्यआगतं** (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or **स्त्रीभ्यो हितं** (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly **पुंस + क्त्वं = पौकम्** 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix **वत्** taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form **पुंवत्** (and not **वत्**) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (**ज्ञापक**) that in the sense of **वत्**, the affix **स्त्वम्** is not to be used. Thus **स्त्रीवत्**, ॥ **पुंस्त्वम्**, **पुंस्त्वं** and **पुंस्त्वा** are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The **स्** of **पुंस्** is elided before **स्त्वम्** by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix **वत्** would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्यः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राग्वह्यतीयाऽपत्यवत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुगभवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by **luk**, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase **प्राग्वह्यतः** of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase **भवनात्** of the last. Thus **पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः** 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly **दशकपालः** "prepared in ten cups." **द्विवेदः** 'he who studies two Vedas.' **त्रिवेदः** "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting **संस्कृतं** (IV. 2. 16), and **वर्धते** (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe **द्वेदेवसन्तिः** 'descendant of two Devadattas.' **त्रेदेवसन्तिः** 'a descendant of three Devadattas,' where the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe **द्वेपासयणिकः** ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus **पञ्चकपालस्थेः = पाञ्चकपालम्** ॥ Or the genitive use in **द्विगोः** may be taken as *sthāna-shashthi*, the sense being 'there is the substitution of **लुक्**-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samâhâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and पाट्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्र्यवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः ॥ So also with पाट्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गन्धं आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम् or पंचगर्गमयम् ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजातौ प्राग् शीव्यतीये विषयसूते प्रतिषिद्धते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sûtras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गा will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a prâgdivyatiya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151) and not गनीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः, disciples of Vâtsyas, Atreya, Khârpâyaṇas.

Why do we say “गोत्रे” i. e. “when the Gotra affix is elided”? Observe कौबलम्, बारम् ॥ Here the affix denoting “fruit” is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the prâgdivyatiya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बदरम् ; from which बारम् ‘belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.’

Why do we say “having an initial vowel”? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गर्गिरूप्यम् ; and गर्गमयम् ; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य

a *prâgdivyatiya* affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix मयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prâgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्गोऽथो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in Sūtra V. 1. 5 not one of the *prâgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The Gotra-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus बिद् will form its Gotra derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as बिद् + अम् = बैद्: ॥ The plural of बैद् will be बिदाः by the elision of अम् ॥ One yuvan or two yuvan descendants of these बिदाः will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word बिदाः will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to बैद्, thus बैद् + इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is बैदः, बैदो ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one बैद्: or two बैदः will be बिदाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुसन्ते एव प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prâgdivyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (Gotra) of काण्डाहन्तः काण्डाहन्ति (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The Yuvan form of the latter by Sūtra IV. 1. 150) will be काण्डाहन्तः ॥ When we intend to add a *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the Yuvan affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word काण्डाहन्तः ॥ Having done which we get the form काण्डाहन्ति; and it is with regard to this form काण्डाहन्ति that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by sūtra IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus काण्डाहन्ति + अण् = काण्डाहन्ताः 'the pupils of Phāṇṭāhṛitas'. Had we in the first instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the Yuvan word काण्डाहन्त, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the Gotra affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवत्त is भागवन्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागविति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयाः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जला is कपिञ्जलादिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलाद्यः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाद्य will be कापिञ्जलादाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112) formed from ग्लुचुकायनि ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe काण्डाहतरूप्यम् and काण्डाहतमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागावित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिञोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिञोर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजातो प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyāṇa will be गार्गीया or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशोयं, पूर्वोत्तरम् प्रत्ययेरभिसंबद्धते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्प्रत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथावित्तिप्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टषष्ठ्यर्थोऽपत्यमात्रमेव गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अम् &c. and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रेणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पौस्तः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम्. How can an अशेषिक affix debar a शेषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like शेषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Viddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः, so also श्यामगव from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य) ॥

Kārikā तस्येदमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवन् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवास्मै वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्गः, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इङ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षितं गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनन्तरयुवभ्यः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, शास्त्रायणः, शास्त्रायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly दाक्षी feminine of दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इङ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिभ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इङ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debarbs अङ् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षत्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभेयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इङ् ॥

The descendant of दाशरथ by this sūtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रसीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावं लौकिके ततोऽन्यच्च तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिषाब्दानां च तत्सदृशात्प्रातिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इङ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इङ्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निषाकु, 5 शिषाकु, 6 वटाकु, 7 उपनिन्तु (उपबिन्तु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 वृडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 उर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसङ्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 29 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उद्गुचु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35 शापविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्भिन्, 38 शङ्खलतादिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकार्मर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उरङ्ग, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 वृडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाह्विः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजोधनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इङ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहवः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus आम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औदुलोभिः ॥

सुधातुरकञ्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृषाब्दापत्ये इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्धियोगेन च तत्साकङ्कारेण भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुणिषाद्वृडालविम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the क् of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधात्रपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vârt :—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाड, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः निषाडकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बिम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके उपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter झ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ् ; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix झ्फञ् take the further affix य (ज्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + आयन् + अ = कौञ्जायन्. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः ; the affix ज्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्वाज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौघ्रायन्यः, ब्रौघ्रायन्यौ, ब्रौघ्रायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौजिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ् of the affix ज्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च् of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 : so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध्न, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन्, 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 शट, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाश्, 12 स्कन्ध, 13 स्कन्ध, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभं वि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शलंकायनः ॥ The word शलंकि occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, added after it, thus शलंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes क् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मायणः = वार्ष्ण्यः; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्ण्यायनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्ठः; otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रौष्टु is changed to क्रौष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुज, 5 ईतक, 6 हतित, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 ल-
10 शलंकु शलङ्क च । 11 समल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषण । 15 प्राण
नर, 17 सायक, 18 रास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किकर, 24 कि-
25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 कादयप (कुदयप) 28 कादय, 29 कात्य (काव्य) 30 अज,
अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणो ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठ । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार,
क्रौष्टु क्रौष्ट च । 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिशका, 42 अम, 43 वृण, 44 शकट,
सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अश्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक,
रुण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60
ण, 61 चटक, 62 बद्ध, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अन्न, 68 कामुक,
ब्रह्मरत्न, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 रुण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वान-
77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इक्षरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वान ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

तिः ॥ हरितादिर्बिंशद्यन्तर्गणः । हरितादिभ्योऽसन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of विद class, which class by IV. 24 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this a and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; hence according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अम् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यमिओश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इओः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिमन्ताश्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्ययणः ॥ इक्ष + इञ् = इक्षिः ; इक्षि + फक् = इक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरधिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्धन्नुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्सप्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्धत्, शुनक, दर्भात्, भृगु, वत्स, आप्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव ॥ शरद्धत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्सप्रायणेष्वप्येवप्रत्ययविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrāyana respectively.

Thus शरद्धातायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शरद्धत्: (formed by अम्) शौनकायनः = वात्स्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, शर्मायनः = आप्रायणः, otherwise शर्मिः, (formed by इम् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्धत् and शुनक belonging to बिवाहि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव ॥ द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' a jivanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. I. 95. Thus द्रोणायनः or द्रौणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः, अवन्तायनः or अवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अद्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रोणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अद्वत्थामा द्रोणायनः”? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रोणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्ये, बिदा-दिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रद्वयेव । बिदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽनृष्यस्य भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरं भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words: अनृषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage”; आनन्तर्ये ‘in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” बिदादिभ्य “after Bidâdi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ पुत्रि ‘daughter,’ ननान्वृ ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ पुत्रि + अञ् = शौहित्रः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus बिद + अञ् = बैदः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anṛishi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर the affix अञ् being added without change of signification. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—‘after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘añ’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ānantary' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अस्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अस् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic कश्चि affix अण् of IV. 1. 114 is not debarred by this अस् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अस् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called काशिकः (formed with अस्), for both Gādhī the father of Viśvāmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general the Rishi words बिद् &c. will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद् forms बिदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इस् and not by कश्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद् is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigāṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 बिद्, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्त्र, 7 किलात, 8 कर्ण (किर्ण) 9 विश्वानर, 10 कश्चिषिण (कश्चिषेण) 11 कृतभाग, 12 हर्यश्च, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शारद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्नु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वामतान, 26 द्यामाक, 27 द्यानक, 28 द्यावलि, 29 द्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंशस, 32 बहस्कि, 33 अर्कशूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बथोग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गर्विष्ठ, 41 निषार, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मउर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूष, 50 गृहितु, 51 ननान्, 52 परस्त्री पशुं च। 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक्, 55 द्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by पशु when taking the affix अस् ॥ Thus परास्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यारि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रियेयः, with double viddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20 : which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादित्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजसे, 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विद्भृत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवद, 20 मनस्, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 अरमाण, 25 लेहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंकु, 32 लिगु, 33 गृहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीशु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्नु, 40 मनाथी, 41 सनु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भत, 55 कुक्षक, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुल, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्की, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रहूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 खुलुक, 77 मुद्गल, 75 सुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पाराशर, 78 जतूकर्ण (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अम्भरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 वृत्तिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अक्षरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पित्रल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलुक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिष्णज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 वल्भ, 97 चकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 वेवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहश्रि, 104 सुलोहित, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्धु, 111 भुव, 112 कर्कटक, 13 रूक्ष, 114 प्रखूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितदि sublist of this class. It ought to take ण् after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in लोनी प्रजा? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of 'arâsara is called पाराशर्यः? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are यः कथ्यण (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जामदग्न्यः and पाराशरः ॥

मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बभ्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्बभ्रु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmana.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." माधव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word यञ् belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. यञ् takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-classes लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing यञ् alone, there was यञ् कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिबोधदाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिबोधदाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras ? Observe काप्यः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डाच्चदाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivādi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अञ् and अण्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवदि class : and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डाच्चदाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुभति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वतण्ड्य 'in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वतण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वतण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वदिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वदिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛtiti of āṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-न-फञ् = अश्व-न-आयनः (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वमायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ठक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi)-न-उयङ् (IV. 1. 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word शय takes षाण् only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायानः, otherwise शायिः with इम् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'षाण्' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातियः with ठक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'षाण्' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इम्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अम् of IV. 1. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्वमन् 3 शंस 4 शूद्रक 5 विद् 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खजूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 खण्ड 11 पित्र 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 शान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलाक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन् 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कूट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 पिप्प 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशांप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 वासक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्य) 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहृत 56 सुमनस् 57 कुर्मनस् 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आधेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आधेये 63 उस्त 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद
67 धन्य 68 पार 69 शिव 70 खरि 71 भण्डक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76
वीक्ष्य, 77 वद, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 भोजस्त, 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गशास्त्रादपत्ये विशेषे त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे कम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'कम्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्य-
यो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इम् &c, Thus शिव-न-अण्=शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly शौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class ; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इम् by IV. 1. 153 ; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-न-अण्=ताक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-न-ण्य=ताक्षण्यः ॥ The न् is elided by VI. 4. 134. The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123) and Tikādi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः ; गाङ्गायनिः and गाङ्गेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : वैपाशाः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix डक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as त्रिवेणः ; but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 शौष्ठ 3 शौष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 इण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुम् (ककुमा) 10 अन्
भिम्भान 11 कौहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुस्थ 16 कशोड 17 कोशड 18 कहूय 19 कश्च
20 रोध 21 कर्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 लण्कार्ण 25 खरिद्र 26 जलद्र 27 पति

28 पक्षिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हेहय 31 पार्थिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बर्धिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मारं 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्ववण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका 62 आद्य-ध्वत (अर्यध्वेत) 63 सुविष्ट 64 मसूरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खटूरक 68 तक्षान् 69 ऋष्टिषणे 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 हुह्य 75 अयःस्थुल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 वर्ण 78 भल-न्नन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 ब्याचो नयाः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध, 88 गोभिलिक. 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

इति ॥ वृद्धेयस्याचामादिस्तद्भाद्रम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदा-
त्प्रकृतयो निर्विद्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्षः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेभ्यो ऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । ढको ऽपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like
IV. 1. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the
orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-
मानुषीभ्यः declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' इरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'
तस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नर्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all names
of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तित्ता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word'? Observe चान्नभागाया
पत्यं = चान्नभागेयः; so also वासवहरोयः formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say
sing 'names of rivers or women.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we
say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful
woman.'

ढक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed
on feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिङ्कुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

किं ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरु इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेऽन्धः प्राप्ति-
कोभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽण्प्रत्ययो भवती, औऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इम् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आकल्कः, रान्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आनि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आनि will be formed not by अण् but by इक् ॥ Thus आनिवः ॥ Similarly उमसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औमसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भिमसेन्यः 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम्, भद्रपूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृशब्दात्संख्यापूर्वात्संभद्राद्वृत्तिपूर्वाच्चापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, इकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्रः ; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्विमातुः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्विमातृ + उ + अ = द्विमातृ + उ + इ + अ (I. 1. 51). Similarly पाप्मातुः, सांमातुः, and भाद्रमातुः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

क् of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पुर्यायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संनिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सोमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति इकोपवादः । तत्सन्निधौ कनीनशब्दआदेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyā'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyasa'. This debars the इक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् या पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुक्ल, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुक्ल, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुक्लछगलशब्देभ्यो ययासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिवपत्यविशेषेण प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुक्ल, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौक्लः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौक्लिः ॥ छगलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंग is used and not शुंग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. टी पेलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pilā.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण्.

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = माण्डूकेयः; मण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इम् = माण्डूकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीप्रहणेन दाबादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकोकिलास्मृतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes दाप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Th विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparnā. But ऐडविडः and शरदः formed by अण् meaning sons of ऐडविड and शरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes.

Vārt:—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Th वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vārt:—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कोकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्व्यचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दत्तेयः 'son of Dattā', गोपेयः "son of Gopī". Th debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe दाम्नुः 'son of दाम्नु' which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चान्त्रः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारो द्व्यच इत्यस्यानुकर्षणार्थः । इकारान्ताद्यातिपदिकादिप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययौ भवति ।

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a scendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic fix इञ् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्व्यचः of the sūtra. Thus अत्रियः 'the son of Atri'. नधयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe शक्तिः "son of शक्त" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe त्रयणः 'son of शक्ति' ॥ Here though शक्ति is a dissyllabic word ending in short it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95.); so also त्रयणः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मत्तचः "son of मत्तचि."

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debarbs इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an प्रतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पाण्डव are not in the list, we find still ms like गंगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शास्त्रेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शालाथल, (शालाचल) 6 शालाकाश्रु, 7 लेखाश्रु, 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 राहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशू, 13 शालुक, 14 अजनस्ति, 15 शक्राधि, 16 विमान, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 देवतर, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उम, 24 ज्ञातल, 25 बन्धकी, 26 सुकण्ड, 27 विशि, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकधु, 32 शानाहर, 33 पटुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वीसंष्टे, 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अर्णाव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 सुकण्ड, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुहामन्, 51 कहु, 52 तुह, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 कुशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिव, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शालाका, 63 शङ्कर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मगा, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, (अनुदष्टि) 69 नरातिन्, 70 बलीवर्धिन, 71 विध, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अथ, 77 अजिर, 78 गतावर, 79 शालाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकधु, 86 यमधु, 87 कहु, 88 सुकण्ड, 89 शुक्र, 90 रुह, 91 कुशोरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकाकाश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

॥ विकर्णशब्दश्चकुपीतकशब्दश्च काश्यपे उपस्थादिशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक् comes after the words 'Vi-karna' and 'Kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâsyapa.

Thus वैक्रण्यैः and कौषीतकेयः = काश्यपः ; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भ्रुवो बुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, बुक्, च (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रुवश्चापत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment बुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रु + बुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भ्रुव् + ढक् = भ्रैवियः (VII. 1. 2)
कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इनङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमादीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इनङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक् ।

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyāṇi.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागिन् + ढक् = सुभागिनेयः ॥ Similarly शैर्भागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of म. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 सुभगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 भ्रुवृष्टि, 6 अनुसृष्टि (भ्रुवृष्टि) 7 जरती
8 बलीवर्षी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परंस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इनङादेशो भवति । अविशार्यं वचः प्रत्ययः पुंसिगैव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (अदति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV.

120. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेयः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलदेयः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाचेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुक्प्रत्ययः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vārt:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vārt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the दाप् being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया दृक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, दृक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये दृक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'दृक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दृक् = गौधेरः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter ḍ is replaced by एर् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एर्ह्र, but the एर् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर् ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गौधेरः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there : other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as गारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for : sake of showing respect only.

धुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुद्राभ्यः, वा (दृक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्थवर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । क्षुद्राभ्यो वापत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛtti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेशः, हासेरः or हासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुदछण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुश्चछण्प्रत्यये छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पितृष्वसीय 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३३ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरपत्यप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पितृष्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतदपेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. I. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसीय or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कम्ण्डलु + ढञ् = कम्ण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the being elided before ढ). So also शैतिबोहयेः and जाम्बव्यः from शितिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देऽभ्योपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ह्यः, हार्ह्यः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विभि, 6 कुट्टि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्श्वशुरशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and अञ् respectively. Thus राजन्यः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā.' The word राजनः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्राद्यः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रशब्दादपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattra.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्खः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाद्यापत्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakañ.' That indicates the implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आढ्यकुलीनः, भोचियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदान्यतरस्यां यङ्ढक्ञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्. अन्यतरस्यां, ढक्ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तदपूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशाब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशाब्दादन्यतरस्यां यत् ढकस् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकस्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलाद् खऔ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अश्, खऔ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्त्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अश्' and 'खश्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद् ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशाब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दुष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुदछः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशाब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वसृशब्दः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातृव्यञ्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशाब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sôtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars भण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दाद् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेदभिन्नः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्टकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 शारपाली, 5 वृकवल्चिन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकपाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 वृण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुशाक्ष) 12 चामरमाह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दादपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; चकारादुक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुस्सर्वज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sîtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लुचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगदि जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्गी अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेवपत्न्यापार्थेयं प्रयोगे नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाट्ठसौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रावपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपदो विचिर्हितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापयो गोत्राट्ठशुबहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvira Gotras.

Thus भागविचिक्रः 'the son of Bhāgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविक्रः formed from तृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागविचायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123 : and forms आकशापय, his son will be आकशापयिकः or आकशापयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागविचायनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागविचि, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापय as given in the kārikā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vriddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvira class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vriddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vriddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः ; for had 'Vriddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vriddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauviras"? Observe आपगविर्जात्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागविचायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहूल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1. 150, denotes 'Sauvira' only and not contempt ; whilst the middle two namely IV. 1. 148 and 149 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvira'.

फेरु च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्सौवीरगोत्रावपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā यमुन्द्रश्च सुयामा च वार्ण्यायणिः किमः स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des

endant, after a Nominial-stem ending in the affix किञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किञ् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The केः of the sūtra refers to किञ् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three किञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्द्, सुयामा and वार्यायानिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyaṇi.

काण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्डाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-फिञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णफिञौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

150. The affixes ण and फि come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phântâhriti and Mimata.

This debars फक्. By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than काण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus काण्डाहृतः or काण्डाहृतानिः ; मैमतः or मैमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have काण्डाहृतावनः and मैमतायनः by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naṣâdi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः ऋद्धेभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix य by IV. 1. 172, so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the प्य of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because प्य of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix किम्. As कौरव्यायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix प्य not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्यः ॥ There will not be पुन्रवद्भवा as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been पुन्रवद्भवा, then by भस्ये तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become पुन्रवद् before a taddhita affix except इ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + प्य = केशिन् + प्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केशिन्-प्य = केशिन् ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ्य occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्यः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथ्याः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथ्यी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथ्यानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by प्य ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वावूक, 7 सभाजः सन्निधे, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रजाती, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 शनोष्णी 18 गणकारि, 19 केशारि, 20 कुद, 21 शालाका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक) 25 शुभ्र, 26 अभ्र, 27 दर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्सि, 30 शूषणीय, 31 इयावनाय, 32 इयावरथ, 33 इयावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 बडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 वा 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्ह, 44 हर्ह, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी) 47 वामरथ्यस्य कण्वादिभस्वरवर्जय. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्फाट 51 वातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ सेनान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दात् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कारु-
णां तन्तुवायासीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कारिष्येण्यः, हारिष्येण्यः, लाक्षण्य, तान्तुवाय्य, कौम्भकार्यः, नापत्यः ॥

उदीचामिञ् ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिषेणिः, हारिषेणिः, लाक्षणिः, तान्तुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word तक्षण carpenter.' See IV. i. 112. It will have तक्षणः and तक्षण्यः, but will not take इञ् ॥ The word नापित् being a Vṛddha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under IV. i. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

तिकादिभ्यः किञ् ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'किञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कौतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वाव्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरस = उरसा येति = उरसः क्षत्रियः, his son will be auraśa with, अम् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. i. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. i. 150 will take the affix इञ् and not किम् of this Sūtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरस), 7 शाख्य
शाख्य 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्ध, 10 रूप्य, 11 ग्राम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमित्र, 14 गौकश्य, 15
कुरु (कुरु) 16 ऐवरय, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरस), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि,
11 भौरिकि, 22 औपयत, 23 श्वेदयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 श्वेतयत, 26 वाजवत
वाजवत K. 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुपामन्, 32 भारज (भारद्व),
33 वयका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोक, 37 उरस (उरस्य) 38 य

३९ सुयामन्, ४० कृद्व (कृष्य), ४१ भीत, ४२ जाजल, ४३ रत, ४४ लावक, ४५ ध्वजवर, ४६ वसु, ४७ बन्धु, ४८ आबन्धका (as well as आबन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्याम्भामपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दगुकोसलकर्मार्यछाग वृषाणां युद् ॥

155. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kārmārya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean “the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य,” but they mean “the son of कौसल, and कर्मर,” because of the following Vārtika

Vārti:—The words दगु, कोसल, कर्मर, छाग and वृष take the augment वुद् before the affix किम् ॥ Thus दगव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वृष्यायनिः ॥

अणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकारपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वरादीनां वा किम् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix ‘phiñ’ comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix ‘अण्’.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्त्रायनिः ‘son of Kārtra,’ हात्रायनिः ‘son of a Hārtra.’

Why do we say “which ends in the affix अण्”? Observe दाक्षायः ‘son of Dākshī’ (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a ‘dissyllabic word’? Observe औपगविः ‘son of औपगव’ ॥

Vārti:—The pronouns ‘tyad &c.’ optionally take the affix किम् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं यच्छब्दरूपमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vridhhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix ‘phiñ’ is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आश्वगुप्तयनिः “son of आश्वगुप्त,” मातरक्षायनिः ‘son of मातरक्ष’ ॥ वापितायनिः ‘son of a barber.’ This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here,

Why do we say ‘according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians’? Observe आश्वगुप्तिः. Why do we say ‘after a word having a Vridhhi in the first syllable’? Observe वाश्वरक्षिः ‘son of वाश्वरक्ष.’ Why do we say ‘not being a Gotra-name’? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्-च (फिश्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिश् प्रत्ययो भवति सत्सन्नियोगेन तेषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गोरधकायनिः ॥ This debars इश् &c. But if the anuvritti of उशीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गोरधिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गैधिर (गोरध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मिर्वर्जोर्नलोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्ताव्याप्तिपरिधायाः फिश्प्रत्ययस्तास्मिन् परभूते अन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvritti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिश् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृक्षात्किन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृक्षात्, किन्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृक्षाच्छब्दरूपापत्ये किन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phiñ' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहिचुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजवन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra construction. In some places this affix किन् is not at all added, as शाशिः, क्लृप्तिः ॥

मनोजर्जातावय्यतो पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अय्य-यतौ, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुवाक्यादम् यत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तस्माद्वियोगेन पुगागमः समुदायेन येज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सारिकः स्मृतः ।

नकारस्य च मूर्धन्यस्तेन सिद्धति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अय्य and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अय्य = मानुवः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुव्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुवाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यस्यास्य तद्गोत्रसंतं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वास्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंद्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंद्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंद्यः पित्रादि, स्तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंतं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंद्यः ॥ When such

a *vaṁśya* is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase **पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं** in the *sūtra* should be construed as **पौत्रप्रभृतेऽयं अपत्यम्** 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last *sūtra*, however, this phrase **पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं** was properly construed by putting the word **पौत्रप्रभृति** in the case of apposition with **अपत्यम्** meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus **गर्गः** being the head, we have **गर्गः**:

अपत्यम् — { **गर्गः**: (son or putra)
 गार्ग्यः: (Gotra)
 गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gârgi &c

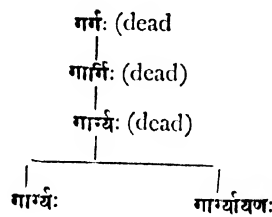
be alive). The force of the word **तु**, in the *sūtra* is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

प्रातिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a **वंश्यः** like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not *vaṁśya*), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:



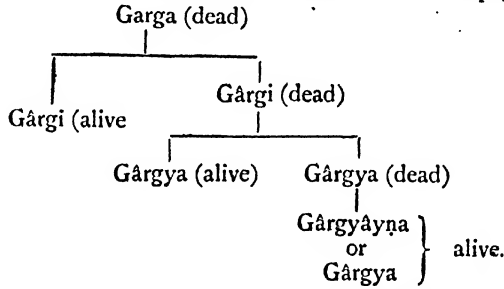
The word **वंश्यः** is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a *vaṁśya*, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This *sūtra* applies to cases when *Vaṁśya* is not meant. Thus **gârgya** is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, **Gârgya**; similarly **Vâtsyâyana**, **Dâkhsâyana**, and **Plâkshâyana**.

वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

प्रातिः ॥ भ्रातृन्वस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवंद्वयं युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word *स्यविर* means 'superior', and *स्यविरतर* is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word *जीवति* is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of *जीवति* also from IV. 1. 163. This *जीवति* of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the *जीवति* which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As *तत्र भवान् गार्ग्ययणः* or *गार्ग्यः* "you honored Gargyāyana or Gārgya". This sūtra is in fact a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly *तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः* or *वात्स्यः*, *तत्र भवान् शाश्वतः* or *शाश्विः* ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, *वात्स्यः* and *गार्ग्यः* ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is *अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम्* ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus *गार्ग्यो जात्मः* or *गार्ग्ययणो जात्मः* ॥ When contempt is not intended the only form is *गार्ग्ययणः* ॥ This is also a Vārtika and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐश्वराक and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रुह्यवः 'the son of Drūhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vārt:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालनाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhârî'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhârî

or the king of Gandhâri? The vârtika under Sûtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अभ्रमगधकलिगसूरमसादङ् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अचच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसात्-अण् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दान् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो अचो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽणप्रत्ययों भवति ॥

197. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अभ्रम् ॥ Thus आंगः, बर्गः, मगधः, कलिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly औण्डः, सौद्वः ॥ The Vârtika 'तस्यराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आंगो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ज्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, ज्यङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दान् क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकविकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये ज्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दान् छत्रियाङ् डश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'ज्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अभ्रम् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बष्ठ्यः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजादः which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vârt.—The affix 'ḍyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्ड्यः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दान् क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru' and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चेदयम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

• साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिञ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशाब्दान् क्षत्रियादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकशब्देभ्यश्चापत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो
भवति ॥

Kārikā उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।

भुलिङ्गाः शारङ्गिडाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva ; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121) formed by ढक् ; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarâh, Tilakhalâh, Madrakarâh, Yugandharâh, Bhuliṅgâh and Śaradaṇḍâh. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तिलखलिः, माद्रकारिः, युगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारङ्गिडः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamiḥha, and Ajakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेषामवयवस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168 ; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुक्वचनं षोल/घर्थम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix अञ् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of Cholâs'. So also केरलः शकः, यवनः ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरुभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुवाङ्भ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'nyañ'. (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी; *m.* नाद्रः, *f.* नद्री ॥ The word अतः of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'aṇ (अ)', 'ñañ (य)', 'nya (य)' and 'in (इ)'. Of these the first four all end in अ; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by ज्ञापकः that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of आम्बष्ठपः is आम्बष्ठया, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्यभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन स्त्रियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्राति-
पिद्यति ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bhargā' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debarb the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पश्चाती, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Sarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भर्गी, [काश्यी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, यौधेयी and यौकेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अच्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अच् in (V. 3. 117) added to पृथु &c, is elided in the feminine : e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पृथ्वी, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष), 3 कैकेय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थान, 7 उरस (उरस and उरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 यौकेय, 3 यौधेय, 4 ज्यावाणय (यावाणय), 5 धौतैय (धातैयः धातैय) 6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उद्गानिर, 9 शतैय ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्वागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्भक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of “colored thereby”.

The verb रज्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः ‘color’, तेन ‘by which’, i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् ‘a cloth coloured of a dull red’. So also मांजिष्ठं कौसुमम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् “after the name of a color”? Observe देवदत्तं रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word ‘Devadattena’, though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence “काषायो गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हरिद्वो कुक्कुटस्याशौ” the words काषाय and हरिद्व are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादृक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अण् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० पीताम् कण् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्वामहारजनाभ्याममृत्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words *lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama*, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus *लाक्षाया रक्त्वं वस्त्रं = लाक्षिकम्*, so also *शैचनिकम्*, *शाकलिकम्* and *कार्दमिकम्* ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix **अण्** also comes after *शकल* and *कर्दम* ॥ Thus *शाकलम्* and *कार्दमम्* ॥ According to *Mahâbhâshya* the words *शकल* and *कर्दम* do not occur in the *sûtra*, but are given in the *Vârtika*.

Vârt:—The affix **अन्** comes after *नीली*: as *नील्या रक्त्वं = नील वस्त्रं* ॥

Vart:—The affix **कन्** (I. 3. 8) comes after *पीत*, as *पीतेन रक्त्वं = पीतकम्* ॥

Vart:—The affix **अञ्** comes after *हरिद्रा* and *महाराजन*, as *हारिद्रम्* and *माहा-एजनम्* ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ *तृतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्राविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ।*
तसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix **अण्** already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus *पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा* &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus *पुष्य + अण् = पौषः* (VI. 4. 149) e. g. *पौषिरात्रिः* "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also *माघी रात्रिः*; *पौषमह* 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December', so also *माघमह* 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say *नक्षत्रेण* 'connected with the asterism'? Observe *चन्द्र-ना युक्ता रात्रिः* ॥ Why do we say *काल* 'time'? Observe *पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमा* ॥

लुबविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥
तेः ॥ पुर्येण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति अविशेषः ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by *lup*, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अद्यः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां स्रवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रवणशब्दादश्वत्याशब्दाद्योत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇā ; the Muhūrt called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say श्रवणाः रात्रिः and not श्रवण रात्रिः. The reason is that श्रवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23 Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā'? Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी रात्रिः

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वास्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordain lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्येतामिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्भवति

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sāma Veda.

Thus कुरुञ्चन दृष्टं = कौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Kuruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेढेक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशाब्दास्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्येनस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राधिकलिङ्ग्याढ्यन्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृष्टं सामनि अण् वा डिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे यान्थेन बाधितः पुनरपि विधीयते स वा डिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयासीकक् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्रावङ्गवदिष्यते ॥

Kārikā वृष्टं सामनि जाते च द्विरिङ्गिङ्गा विधीयते ।
 तीयासीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रावङ्गवदिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sama-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम = कालेयं ॥ "The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt.—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं = आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्नि-रागतं "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt.—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा वृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or मौशनम् (the force of डिन् being to elide the ढि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt.—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डेन्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ढङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिष- or शतभिषज ॥

Vārt.—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयाकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तृतीयाकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt.—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix वुम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ङ्यङ्, ङ्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ङ्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशाब्दान् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्यन् ङ्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

Kārikā सिद्धे यत्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतीति डितौ ।
 अहणं माऽतदर्थं ब्रह्मामदेव्यस्य नम्स्वरे ॥

9. The affixes **इयत्** and **इय** come in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word Vāmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेवेन्य or वामदेवेन्य ॥ The indicatory त् in 'dyat' shows that द्य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory इ ?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a **डित्** affix is added, by VI. 4. 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix **डित्**, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix **डित्**?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सातुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकमहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had द्य and द्यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule, VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udātta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेवेन्य is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेवेन्य ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्स भवति ॥

10. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also कम्बलः, चामणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot'? Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलवाक्सात् वृत्तीयासमर्थान् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **इनि** comes after the word **पाण्डुकम्बल**, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इति of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्राद् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वैपवैयाघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परितृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परितृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमारं इत्येतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā

कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीति या ॥

13. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin' i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याच् भवः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममन्त्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमन्त्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमन्त्रवाचिनः शब्दावुद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमन्त्र means 'vessels' : उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेषूदृतः = शाराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." See also मालिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणावुदृत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sâtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चैव्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मरत्नः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाभिते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्ट्रः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दावुखाशब्दाद्य सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईस्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = राधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the राधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the राधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदश्वितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थात् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदश्वित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीरादुदञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् उदञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उदञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix **दृञ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृता. = क्षीरेयी यताम्: 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सति प्रथमासमर्थात् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे पौर्णमासी चेद्भवति ॥

21. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word **स** means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word **संज्ञायाम्** does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini ; but is added by a Vartika ; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix **अण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year ”.

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः = पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाढ्ठक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ढ्ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशश्वत्थशश्वत्थ प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधि-
काद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ढ्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ढ्ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahāyanî’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्याश्वः पौर्णमासीशशस्तेभ्यो विभाषा ढ्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञा-
मित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढ्ठक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phālgunî’, ‘Sraṇanâ’, ‘Kârtikî’ and ‘Chaitrî’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः ०
चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ढ्ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा
भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवतास्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Aditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवतास्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रोमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणा देवतयेति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase सास्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारदेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्निधौ ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added,

Thus क + अण् = क्ति + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः, कायं ककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra'.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियाऽभ्यायः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपात्रन्तृभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्त्, अपाम् नप्त्भ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apannaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपान्नप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपान्नपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त् when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे वैष्णवीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छब्दश्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apânnaptri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयं or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apânnapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptri and Apânnaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix च comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apânnaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Virt :—The affix छ comes after the words वैगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, वैगाक्षीपुत्रीयम्, तार्णविन्द्रीयम् ॥

Virt :—The word शतरुद्र takes च and छ both : e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रियं ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, च, अणौ च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकारच्छब्द, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् व्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, व्यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोमशब्दाद् व्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma' in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वायुवतुपित्रुपसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उषस्व्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पितृ + रीङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udâtta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्भ्रीपोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥
द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, भ्री-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यदङ्ठः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ Prithivî', 'Sunnâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)'. मरुत्त्वतीयम् or मरुत्त्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्ने ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ प्राग्शीत्यतीयेषु तद्वितार्थेषु सर्वत्रात्रिकलिभ्यां ढञ्त्वक्तव्यः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवताऽस्य = अग्निषोऽष्टकपातः ॥

Vârt.—The affix 'dhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भवचत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भवचत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्य्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये । कालाद्भवति प्ररणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेत्यन्ते, तथैर्मिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes lenoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक् VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषण्यम् (IV. 3. 7); meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताऽस्य ॥ &c.

हाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ठञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ठञ् ॥

॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

तम् ॥ ठञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

तम् ॥ पूर्णमासावृण् ॥

35. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपरिकम् ॥

Vart :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix डञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vart :—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ अर्धवृद्धे सोढवूसमरीसचोदक्त्याः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्कलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ पिञ्जभ्रुन्वसि डिञ् ॥

36. The words 'pitṛivya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, employed in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताम्भ्यां पितरि डामहच्, मातरिषिञ् 'and the affix ḍāmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ङ् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vart :—The affixes सोढ, वूस, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अर्धवृद्धम् = अविषोढम् or अविवूसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्कलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart :—The affix पिञ्ज् is treated like डिञ् in the Chhandas. A तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थत्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो घामज्वक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अङ् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केशर &c take यञ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—काकानां समूहः = काकम् 'a collection of crows' वाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vārt.—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words :—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्यवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः = भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण्य + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ङ, भस्याङि तद्धिते) = गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः = यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षत्र, 4 करीष, 5 अन्नार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पशति, 10 पद्मति, 11 अधर्षन्, (also अर्षन् K.) 12 भिक्षा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्राजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाद्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'uk-shan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औक्षकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मनुष्यकम्, आजकम्, ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vårt:—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारशब्दाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्प्रत्ययः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैशारकम् ॥

Vårt:—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिन्शब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैशारिकम्. We read the anuvritti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठानुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अह्नः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पश्चां णस्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातादूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vårt:—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठयः ॥

Vårt:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आह्नः by अन् see IV. 2. 45.

Vårt:—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्व्यम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vårt:—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः-तल् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाश्चेति यन्प्रत्ययः ॥

43. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तन् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vārt.—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूस्, तत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārikā अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।
गोत्रादवुञ् न च तद्गोत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥
ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः ।
सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्येत चाञ् वुञ्चा ॥
शक्तिरञ् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this sūtra. It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. It will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take tadanta vidhi and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that वृञ् affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus आपगव and कापटव are anudattādi words because formed by अण् (III. 1. 2), and require therefore अञ् by IV. 2. 44, but वृञ् supersedes it, and we have आपगव-कम् and कापटवकम् ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. .A-वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम् ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is क्षुद्रकमालवान् सेनासंज्ञायाम्, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion सेना &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As क्षौद्रक-मालवी सेना, otherwise क्षौद्रकमालवकम् ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpiśālī also धेनुरनञि ठक्मुत्पादयति 'the affix ठक् comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नञ्', therefore, when preceded by any other word the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवासेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārtika to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक्र, 6 उलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगवरञ्, (वरञ्चा v. 1.; युग, वरञ्चा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहं धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्मास्त्राययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishti* under that Sūtra:—चरणाद्धर्मास्त्राययोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थि- and आयर्वणम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अम् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50) or क् (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, कुलिकम् ॥

Vart.—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नम् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-
अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = केश्यम् or केशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः
वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पादल (पादलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 ञ्क, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गण्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचञ्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचञ्च, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यम् इनि च कट्यञ्च इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समूह इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ शार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धञ्च प्रत्ययः ॥

शार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकट्या ।

Vart.—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्ड-
लेनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

Vārt:—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-खण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज्, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vārt:—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vārt:—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थे विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्याविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूह. (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षुर्विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sātra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus सिबिनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also औष्ट् &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाधन्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (देवयातव; देवयान.), 6 अग्रीड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकानेय, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बेल्ववन. 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बेल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 भार्जुनायन, 20 सप्रिय, 21 शक्ति, 22 ऊर्जनाभ. 23 आभीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वाचक. ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, येषु कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐशुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधत् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्यतस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukari &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैषेयविधः &c. ऐशुकारिभक्तः, सारस्या-
ग्नभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत्*, 4 चैटयत् (चौटयत्), 5 काणय, 6 वाणिजक, 7
लिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत् (शैकयत्.), 9 वैकयत्. 10 वैषेय.

1 ऐशुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्रह्माक्षायण, 5 जघाक्षायण
(षायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 रासनिचि, 10 रासनिचायण, 11 सौद्रा
ण (सौद्राण), 12 राभायण, 13 रायण्डायन*, 14 राक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभायण, 16 सौवीर,
7 सौवीरायण*, 18 रायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 रायाण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड
र, 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्ड. 27 शौण्डे, 28
रायण्ड, 29 अलायत, 30 औलायायत.

सोस्यादिरिति छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-
छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थावस्थेति पञ्चमर्थे यथावहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थे छन्दश्चेत्तदादिर्भ-
वति, यस्तस्येति निर्विष्टं प्रगाथाभेदे भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेन पुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This qualifies his points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तिः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुदुभः, जागदः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha' The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka & and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantr or Hymn. यच्च हे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षणानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vārt.—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रिष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्योति वषष्ठ्ये संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथा विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrā". So also सौभाग्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrā". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimālā warriors' So also स्यान्द्नाभ्यः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य सप्तमस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यस्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं च तद्वति यस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्ता भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction,

denoting the name of a weapon ; ण is added to denote a play. Thus हण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = शण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मोटा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति जः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-जः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे जः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ज, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ज is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus हण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते = शण्डपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

तस्मिन् द्वितीयासनर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थे योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sense of 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the nominative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, as छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also वेदज्ञः, नैमित्तः 'who knows the causes'. भ्रातृर्ज्ञः, औत्पत्तः ॥

The word **तद्** is repeated in this *sûtra*, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूकथादिसूत्रान्ताद्ठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्ताद्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषवाचिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गविपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसुर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्पशोत्तरपदान् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेः चिकन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sûtra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **आग्निष्टोमिकः** 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. **वाजपेयिकः**, **औकथिकः**, **लौकायतिकः**, **वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः**, **सामहसूत्रिकः** ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sûtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix **अण्** is added and not **ठक्**. Thus : **काल्पसूत्रः** 'who studies Kalpa-sûtra'.

Vart :—This affix comes after words ending in **विद्या**, **लक्षण** and **कल्प**, as **वायसविधिकः**, **सार्पविधिकः**, **गौलक्षणिकः**, **आम्बलक्षणिकः**, **मातृकल्पिकः**, **पाराशरकल्पिकः** ॥

Vart :—Not so if the word **विद्या** is preceded by the words **अङ्ग**, **क्षत्र**, **धर्म**, **संसर्ग** and **चि** ॥ As **अंगविद्यामधीते** = **आङ्ग विद्यः**, **क्षत्रविद्यः**, **धर्मविद्यः**, **संसर्गविद्यः**, **चैविद्यः** ॥ All these are formed by **अण्** and not **ठक्** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ठक्** comes in the same sense after names of stories (**आख्यान**), narratives (**आख्यायिका**), and after the words **इतिहास** and **पुराण** ॥ As **यावक्रीतिकः**, **प्रेयङ्गविकः**, **वासवरातिकः**, **सौमनोत्तरिकः**, **ऐतिहासिकः**, **पौराणिकः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ल** comes in the same sense, after words beginning with **सर्व**, and **स**, and after **Dvigu** compounds. As **सर्ववेदः**, **सर्वतन्त्रः**, **सर्वार्त्तिकः**, **संसमहः**, **द्विवेदः** **पञ्चव्याकरणः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **ठक्** comes in the same sense after the words **अनसू**, **लक्ष्य**, and **लक्षण**; As **अनसूनाममन्य स्तमधीते** = **आनुसुकः**, **लाक्षिकः**, **लाक्षणिकः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **इकन्** comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in **पश्**; as, **पूर्वपरिकः** ॥

Vart :—The affix **चिकन्** comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words **शतपथ**, and **षाट्पथ**. As **शतपथिकः** f. **शतपथिकी** IV. 1. 41), **षाट्पथिकः** (f. **षाट्पथिकी**). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix **अण्**, as **शतपथः** and **षाट्पथः** ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लौकायत, 3 ग्याव, 4 ग्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 ति

9 अणोपवाद, 10 अमन्य, 11 अनेकलप, 12 अत, 13 धर्म, 14 च

र्वा, 15 क्रमेत्तर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 परक्रम (पर। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात
also संघट्ट 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण),
25 आद्यवेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यास्मिन्निषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) परकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पर, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यास्मिन्निषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmanana'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि ऽनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठक् in the sense of मनुष्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चकप्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यास्मिन्निषये । अणोपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अथर्वन् 12 मीघन्,

प्रोक्तल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्ताद्ध्येतृवेदिभ्योऽल्पन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is no use of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिशलः ॥ The difference between the *वे* पाणिनीयं meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीये formed with अण्, meaning whostudies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, डीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अ being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by दाप्, the accent is on the middle owing to the छ affix. (Phit Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधात्पुन्यस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by *luk*, after the title of a sūtra work having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka'. So also दशका वेद्याप्रपरीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vārt:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by *numeral*: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकं so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चतुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्लोक or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(श्लोकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लोकग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च श्लोकप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्लोक is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्लोक affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a श्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 : then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ-णिनि = कठ-णि-० (IV. 3. 107) ; कठ-अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are : मौढाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैप्पलादः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneya". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus : ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्यार्याननः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिणः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra ? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन श्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the effect of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus तद्वयपिनः, कौशाकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra : as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः. कर्मन्विनः, कृषादिवनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the श्रोक्त affix or any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple ; as, जेनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तस्मान्नि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे त्व-नास्ति ॥

स्तिः ॥ तस्मिन् ग्रन्थमासमर्थमस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं ग्रन्थयो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत-
स्ति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशश्चेत्त तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that' i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तन्नानि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुर्थिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बाल्वजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debarb the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्दृष्टम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्दृष्टम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासर्पान्निर्दृष्टमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नानि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्ब्रेन निर्दृष्टा = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिष्ठा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य विवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्पान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैबः "the count

the Sibis", ओरिष्टः ॥ कुरुनावान्निवासी देशः = आर्जुनावः ॥ The word कुरुनावां = कुरु-
नौवर्षां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भवं = वैदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरश् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्यातिपदिकाद्यथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्ताम् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्मिन्स्तीत्येवमादि-
ष्ययेषु । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अम् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अम् (IV. 1. 83). Thus आरड्वम्
म आरड्व 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काशतवम् from कशतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्क-
॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-
cane near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra
2. 85, which debars अम् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior
en both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अम् governs the six sūtras
to IV. 2. 77. The difference between अम् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुज-अङ्गात्-(अम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुज अङ्गं बन्तासी बहुजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्तात्यातिपदिकाद्यप्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः । अणो-
रः ॥

72. The affix अम् comes in the quadruple sense
after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is
polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुज meaning literally 'many
wells' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix मनुष्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ्. This debars अण् ॥ Thus ऐषुकावतम्, कैषुकावतम् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमत्तम् यावमत्तम्. Here though the word आहिमत् ends in the affix मनुष्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem, viz. आहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as stands without the affix मनुष्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावतम् by अण् ॥

बहुचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचः प्रातिपदिकावञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आतुरार्थकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरणः "a well completed by Dirghavaratra". So also कापिलवरणः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपात्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आतुरार्थकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâśâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus शैतः "a well completed by Datta", गौतः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situated on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply as शतं and गौतः, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमज्ञश्चो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आतुरार्थकः । अणोपवादः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words *sankalâ* &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सांकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 वसन्त*, 4 उज्ज्व, 5 उद्देप (उद्देप), 6 उल्लु, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवस, 10 सुवस, 11 सुवस, 12 सुवस*, 13 सुनेव, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत*, 17 सिकता (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कुलास, 51 पलास, 22 निवस, 23 गवस

24 शम्भिर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (वरण), 31 बहल, 32 स-
द्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोहन्, 35 राजभृन्, 36 भल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्,
40 शृङ्ग, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राधु-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवाप्यातिपरिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे हेतो वाच्ये साल्वे प्राधि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvira, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of हेतोन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus शतामित्री "the city founded by Dattāmītra" (in Sauvira). So also वैश्वामयी (in Sâlva) काकन्दी, माकन्दी. माणिचरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix षञ् which would have otherwise come by IV.2.71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛtti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवासवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 अण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन (सेचालिन), 6 कर्पूरिन,
7 शिखण्डिन, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क,
13 ककथुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and ग्राहि), 15 अहिसक्य 16 वृन् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after रोणी in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रोणः, आजकरीणः or सैहिकरीणः

कोपधाच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपरिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अस् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thu कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कृष्णः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, बैराङ्गवम् ॥

बुम्छणकठजिलसेनिरद्वययफक्फिअज्यकठको अरीहणकुशाश्वदयकुमुद काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ बुम्-छण-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिच्-इञ्-ज्य-कठको; अ-रीहण-कुशाश्व-अदय-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष-कर्ण-सुत-ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुम्दादयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमात्रे संबध्यते । तत्र यथासंख्यं सप्तदशाभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुरार्थिकाः ॥ यथा— (1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कुशाश्वदिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) कदयादिभ्यः क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणादिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अदमादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (9) सख्यादिभ्यो ङम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14) सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहदिभ्यः कठ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्च क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1. बुम् (= अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (= ईच) after कुशाश्व &c. 3. क after कदय &c. 4. ठच् (= ईकै) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. श (or ष) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (= इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अदमन् &c. 9. ठञ् (= एच) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (= य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (= भायर्नै) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिच् (= भायनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (= इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कठ् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. क् (ईकै) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुम् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto क् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, अरीहणकम् (2) कार्कवाकवम्, कार्कवाकवम्, (3) कदयकैः, न्ययोपकैः, (4) कुमुदकैः, वाक्कर्कैः, (5) वाशिलम्, काशिलम्, (6) तृणसैः, नदसैः, (7) प्रेक्षसैः, हलकिन्, (8) अश्मसैः, (9) सखिद्वयम्, सखिद्वयसैः, 10 सांकाशकम्, सांकाशकम्, (11) बलकैः, कर्णकैः, (12) पक्षादयः, सौपादयः, (13) कर्णादयः, सौपादयः, (14) सौतङ्गमिः, सौतङ्गमिः, (15) वराहकम्, पलाशकम्, and (17) lastly कुमुदकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14), and वराहादि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore his universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 वृषण, 3 वृहण*, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ट्रायण, 9 औ-
पयण*, 10 वैगर्तायन, 11 वैषायायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमस्तायन), 14 मौमतायन
(मौ), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्त्रायण*,
1 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विषय, 25 विषास, 26 उड्ड, 27 उड्डचन,
28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृष्ण (काश), 31 जाग्ववत (वन्त), 32 शिशपः,
33 रैवत (रैवत), 34 बिस्व (बैस्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्ब, 39 खरिह,
40 सुधर्मन् (सुधर्म K.), 41 हलतु*, 42 भलन्न्*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यक्षरस्त*.
46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेदमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक,
9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्षल*, 13 सुर्वचल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 मतर (पातर), 17
उद्ग, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 भजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता),
24 भवनत, 25 विकुम्भास (v. l. कुविम्भास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मीर-
न्व, 30 यूकर* (मीरल्ल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋद्व, 2 न्यमोष, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 मिलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l.
निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगुड, 11 उपगुड, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेदमन्*,
16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरिह, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23
अरडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 इण्ड*, 29 परिवृच, 30 कर्म, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोष, 4 इक्कट (इक्कट, उक्कट), 5 सक्कट, 6 कक्कट, 7
गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिव्राप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16
अश्वरथ, 17 बल्लभ, 18 बवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विककृत, 21 श्यामाम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश,
24 चिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वरथ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड,
वन, 10 कर्मन्, 11 कण्ठल*, 12 कक्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस), 15 वृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17
वैर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपिरथ*, 21 जतु, 22 शीपालः 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 वृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ज, 6 वर्ज, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 कल*, 11
जुन*, 12 अर्ज, 13 सुवर्ज*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 वुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेषका, 2 हलका (पलका), 3 बन्धुका, 4 ध्रुवका, 5 शिपका 6 न्यमोष, 7 इकट (इकट)
ककट (कर्कट), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 युका*, 13 पुका*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परि-
प*, 17 बवाष* (d. i. बवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गर्त*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 शिरण्य*. 22 ध्रुवका,
3 सुकटा, 24 मकूट, 25 मुक.

1 अदमन्, 2 वृष (also वृष), 3 ऊष (ऊष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नर, 6 वर्म, 7 वृन्द, 8 शुष्ट*,
खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिला, 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पान!), 14 कन्*, 15 कान्*, 17 गह्व*, 18
ह*, 19 कूडल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह्व*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निहन्, 3 वायुहन्, 4 सखिहन्, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल
7 पल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर,
13 नासक*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),
20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 करल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8
सुपान्थिन् (rightly सुपाथिन्), पन्थ (सक्थ!) च, 9 वृष (वृध), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13
फलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अम्भन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीघ्र*, 21 वित्त
(चिरन्त; बिरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन्*, 28 लोमन्*,
29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिप°, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 शीर्ष, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*,
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 शिकार, 40 विरह,

1 डल, 2 डुल (डुल), 3 डल*, 4 डल*, 5 डट*, 6 लकुल*, 7 डरल*, 8 डुल°, 9 डूल°,
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 डन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष°, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड°, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बालिक), 7 बलिक°, 8 चित्र
9 अस्ति°, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्यायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सक
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्, 21 मकर°
(सलक), 22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष°, 24 निवात°, 25 पाक°, 26 सिंहक, 27 अकुषा°, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसव
(हंसका), 30 हंसक°, 31 कुल्ल°, 32 बिल°, 33 खिल°, 34 डमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला°, 37 सकर्णव
(सकण्डक), 38 अदमन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 वृष (वृष), 6 आनडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य
8 स्किज, 9 कुम्भी°, 10 कुन्ती°, 11 जित्स्वन् (जित्स्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डी
वत् (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव°, 16 जव°, 17 आनक°, 18 अलुश, 19 शाल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुसंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन°
7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विम, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 द्वन्, 14 अजि
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विमह*,

1 मगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मरदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिब), 5 खण्डित (खडिब),
6 गरित (गदिब), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार°, 10 कोविशार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनड, 5 निबड, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विरघ
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न°, 12 बाहु, 13 खदिर, 14 शार्करा, 15 विनड, 16 विरुड, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दद्यामान, 5 अम्बस्थ, 6 शालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्ड*, 13 शुषिकर्ण, 14 मुषुकर्ण, 15 कुन्ड ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्मात्रीति यथाचातुर्यिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुभभवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the reader together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means: (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the place (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालः । So also कुरवः, मल्ल्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुखाः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not names of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase सन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उल्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवे नगरं = वरणा: "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also शृङ्गी, शाल्मल्यः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city ear to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शृङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी*, 5 शयाण्डी°, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद्वी गोरो, पूर्वेण गोरो, अपरेण गोरो), 9 आलिङ्गपायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 अम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 वल्लु°, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 क्षत्रिया, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती°, 22 बलभी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्वुक), 24 तीषा: 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वैणिक, Is an आकृतिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्करायाश्चादुल्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुम्भ-दि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.30 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the fixes वच् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, there would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अच्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV-1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करैम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतचातुरार्थिकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करैम्, शर्करिकैम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करकैम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकैम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उबुम्बरावती, महाकावती, वीरजावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, हुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udātta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and जैनरथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिल, 3 स्थाणु, 4 बेणु, 5 कर्कण्डु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरौर) 8 हिन, 9 किशरा, 1 शर्करा (शर्पणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वाराली, 13 शार, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्ती, 1 शकल, 19 शालका, 20 आमिषी (आमिषी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुटि (मुटि इटि) 24 हृष्य 2 वसतिशाल, 26 खड (खड) 27 वट, 28 वेद (वेद) 29 रन्ध, 30 कक्ष, 38 मरुत्, 32 शर्वापाद.

कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यो इमनुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो इमनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरार्थिकः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ महिषाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमनुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नङ्गान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाङ् डलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-डलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादशब्दाभ्यां डलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

88. The affix डलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडलम् and शादलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाशब्दशब्दाभ्यां वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikkhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मनुष्ये V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करायम्, शफरायम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शकर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलमूल, 6 अश्वत्थ, 7 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण) 8 खलाजि-
न, 9 तिक, 10 कतव, 11 अणक*, 12 वैवण, 13 पिचुक, 14 अभ्रत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र
sl. काश, क्षुद्र) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्था, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्राश, 23 शान्त
(शान्त) 24 खरि, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकव (नैव. बक) 28 तुण, 29 वृक्ष
sl. शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 त्रिजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 फल*, 36 सं-
, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 नशान्त, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचा-
*, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 शार, 49 विशाल, 50 वेन्न, 51 अरुहण, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर
मन्त्रणाह, 54 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 55 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 तुणव, 59
य, 60 मञ्ज, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥
वृत्तिकम् ॥ कृष्णाया हृस्वत्वं । तक्षन्लोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; प्रक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कुञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 प्रक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेष्ट, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तुण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोऽयम् । यानि त ऊर्ध्वे प्रत्ययान्तसु क्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे तं वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from अक्षुष; श्रवणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवण भौषनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, शर्षपः from शृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चतुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चतुर्दशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; अंलुखलं 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ & taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus सौम्यः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 85) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the Hist of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-भवारपाराद्-घ-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र भवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यथाविधेर्ता प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतावपीष्यते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताच्च ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus रविद्यः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vartt—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारवारारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are न्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudi).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाद्य खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्वत्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्ति-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्ति इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपश्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words वे &c.

As कविचयकः, औम्भयकः &c.

1 कवि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोहन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 मा-
पती, 10 हर्मती, (चर्मपत्नी) 11 इक्ष्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुडपाया (कुल्याया) यलोपश्च, 14 वज्जी,
भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिमीवाभ्यः भ्यास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-मीवाभ्यः, भव-
भासि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं भवन् अस्ति अलंकार इत्येतेषु ज्ञातादिव्यर्थेषु ढक्ञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढक्ञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौल्यकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौशेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), ग्रैवेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौशः and ग्रैवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (पर्य) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नादयः, 'pertaining to a river', माह्वयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 आवस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनकां) 7 काशफरी 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाटा (पाता) 12 माया (मात्रा) 13 शाल्वा (सा-ल्वा) 14 शर्वी, 15 सेतकी (शसेनको) 16 वडवाया वृषे. 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पौर-नगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरयम्, वानयम् and गिरयम् ॥

दक्षिणः पश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'pashchât' and 'purâs' the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणत्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental' पौरत्यः 'oriental'.

कापिड्याः ष्फक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिड्याः, ष्फक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् ष्फक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ बाह्व्युर्दिपदिभ्योतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kāpīś', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses; (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor',

Vart.—So also after बह्वि, उर्वि and पर्वि as, बह्विजयनी, और्विजयनी, पर्विजयनी ॥ This debars वृष् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येऽण च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण-च (ष्फक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गकुशादृशः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शेषिकोऽमनुष्येभिधेयः ॥

100. After the word रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As रङ्गवो गौः or रङ्गवायणो गौः but रङ्गवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कच्छन्ने class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuṣya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as रङ्गवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 125, and वृष् debarred by ङष् of IV. 2. 119, and ङष् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it is क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्र, अप, उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदक् प्रत्यच् इत्येतेभ्यो यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and de- c time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). e word अपाच् means south.

कन्थायाष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाशब्दादृक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix **ठ** in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

वर्णो बुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-बुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णो या कन्था तस्या बुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix **बु** when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्थिकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

Kārikā अमहम्बतसिन्नेभ्यस्त्यत्रविधिर्योऽव्ययात्स्मृतः ।

निनिर्भर्यो ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यन्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसिद्धच्छन्सि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याण्णोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वूरित्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix **त्यप्** is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in त्रि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कृत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vṛiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix **छ** in the same sense. As, आरातीय ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, निवृत्त्यम् ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्ठ "Chandālas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to the word आविसू in the Vedas: As, आर्विद्यो वर्धते ॥

Vārt:—The affix च comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix इत्य comes after वूर, e. g. वूरित्यः पथिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहस् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

प्रेषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां ह्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

105. The affix **त्यप्** is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As प्रेषमस्त्यम् or प्रेषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'svas' takes the augment **नुद्** also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ् औ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-औ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् अ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकाः ॥

106. The affix **अञ्** comes after a word ending with **तीर**, and the **अ** comes after a word ending with **रूप्य**; in the remaining senses.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पाटुलतीरम्, वार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix **ङीप्** in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in अ take the affix **दाप्** (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called *uttara-pada*, as 'bahu' is not a *pada* but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अञ् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-अः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकारसंज्ञा विषयाद् अः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

107. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix **अ** is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अञ् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला + अ = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly राक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वेषु-
कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वेषुकामशमैः (VII. 3. 14). The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पुत्र + इषु-
कामशमी; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशर्म by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरिषुकामशर्म: "who is in Ishukāmashami-in-the-West".

The word 'परि' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्ववत्संज्ञायां, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरान्वयि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मद्रेषाब्दादङ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अङ् is added to the word मद्रे, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रे: f. द्वी; आपरमद्रे: f. द्वी ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्रे ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चवह्वचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचनः प्राति . . . काद् बह्वचोन्तोदात्तोत्तं अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अङ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अङ् deba
अङ् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, शौण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe मायुरम् formed b
अङ्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Obse
धुम् - धुजम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone"? Observe शाकरोदात्तम् ॥ Here शा
udātta by VI. 1. 194, taking लृत् accent.

प्रत्योत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादङ् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्योत्तरपदान् पलद्यादिकः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातपदिकादङ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अङ् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रत्य, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus ग्राहीप्रस्थः, ग्राहीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पारिषदः, भैलिनकः, चैयतकः ॥

In the class Paladyādi, those words which denote villages of ग्राहीक, will not take डम् or मिर् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौडी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladī class, and consequently it does not take the affix डम् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word ग्राहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladī class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 ग्राहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट) 7 आलकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौडी, 12 नैतकी (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 गुरसेन, 15 गोमती, 16 पदधर, 17 उरपान (उदयानि) 18 अकुलोम, 19 सकुलोम ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्ह्येव संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो विशिष्टस्तन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining cases." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kaṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवताइत्यर्थे, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीक्य by छ ।

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādī. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकक्ष are कौण्ड्य and गौकाक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कौण्ड्य + अण् = कौण्ड्यः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इअञ्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इअः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इअ विहितस्तदन्ताद्यातिपादिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षा: "the pupils of Dākshi"; दक्षाः, माहकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयस् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्वयच्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्वयच्चः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयः प्रातिपदिकात्प्राच्यभरतगोत्रादिभ्यन्तादण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीय काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागारः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षाः from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāch is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. The Vriddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from मातङ्ग

have मालीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः, ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in तीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह-इह्यः; but आरात्-आरातीयः करवतीर-कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर-वायसतीरीयः
चणारूप्य-चाणारूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य-माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर-शैवपुरम्; but वाड-
वक्य-वाडवकर्षीयः, निलीनक-नैलीनकः; but औलूक-औलूकीयः ॥

भवतष्ठकृत्सौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicative, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affix-
रात् to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्जिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-जिठौ ॥

तः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यष्ठञ् जिठ् इत्येते प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

नैकम् ॥ आपरादिपूर्वपक्षात्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and जिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and जिठ्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take दाप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word वैवस्वतः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas वैवस्वत्तकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be वैवः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāṣya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of देवदत्तीयाः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्तः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix ठञ् and झिद् ॥

Ydrti:—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद्; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °का, तत्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (चैरी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुल-
ह, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुसामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गौधासन) 13 भरङ्गी*, 14
भरिदम, 15 अरिच*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 वसामान (वसमान) 18 शौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज,
20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छा
त्रमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपदाविपूर्ववशात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि,
32 भौलिकि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् झिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च झिठौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैथिकी ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come, in the remain-
ing senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of
Vāhika.

The word वृज्जात् is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix
छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिका or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोऽशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (ठञ्-झिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तत्राचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा ठञ् झिठौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come optionally in
the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vāhika
villages situated in Uśīnara.

Thus आह्नज्जालिकी, °लिका and °लीया; so also सौवर्शानिकी, सौवर्शानिका and सौ-
वर्शानीया ॥

आर्द्रेणो ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देदो, ठञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैथिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ्, comes in the remaining senses,
after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृज्जात्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been
understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating
it in the next.

Thus नैषादकूर्पकः, शावरजन्तुकः ॥ Why do we say देदो 'denoting a count-
try'? Observe पाटवाः 'the pupils of पट्' formed by अप् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛtṭi of ठम् and मिह् both were current ; hence the repetition of ठम् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛtṭi of ठम् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛtṭi of मिह् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । ङवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राचाम्वाचिनः प्रतिपत्तिकाद् ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठम् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛddha word ending in ङ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus भाटकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवाङ्कः ॥

The affix ठम् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मालवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्वातिपत्तिकाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांक्राद्वकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्तारोषवाचिनः प्रतिपत्तिकाद् वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालप्रस्थकः, नास्तीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुङ्कः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra general in its scope,

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राणदेशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

123. The affix बुझ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ Thus पादलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दीकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दीकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाय 'of the East-folk'? Observe शासामित्रीयः formed by छ. The त् in ईत् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतद्वध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्व-अवध्योः च-(बुझ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाजनपदवाचिनस्तद्वधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकावुभ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैथिकः ॥

124. The affix बुझ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and तद्वधे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तद्वधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and इयामायनकः from औपुष्ट and इयामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवाचि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 to words like त्रिगर्त which is an arid desert: as त्रिगर्तकः ॥ The word तद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविधायत् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विधायत्-(बुझ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तद्वधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविधयाप्रातिपदिकावुभ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैथिकः ॥

125. The affix बुझ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars छ and अष् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकः, वाङ्ग and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly अजमीनाः and अजकन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीनकः and अजकन्दीकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra though these be always plural in form. Thus राजर्कः and जाम्बकः from राजाः and

आम्नाः ॥ So also to Vṛiddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंजराः—कालंजरकः; वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vṛiddha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तत्कौण्डिन्याय; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये दधिरानं; इह तु बहुवचनविषयेविशेषेऽवृद्धाद् बुम्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये तत्कशनं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् बुम्प्रमाप्ते आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धाद् बुम् वृद्धाद् बुमो-वायकः स्यादित्यपि शब्दन समुचीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगतोत्तरपदाद् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गत-उत्तरप-दात्-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्चबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शौचिकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛiddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachehha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debarbs छ and अण् ॥ As शरकच्छकः, पैपलीकच्छकः, काण्डामकः, वैभुजामकः ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शौचिकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debarbs अण् &c. शौचिकः, क्षाण्डकः &c. The word पापेय occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिको नौः and सामुद्रिको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रिक "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 खड्ग (खड्ग and खण्ड) 3 शशास्त्रिन, 4 अर्जुनाव (अर्जुनाद्) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अट्टस्थली*, 10 महुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 शण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साम्राज्याद्, 17 शष्प, 18 (शिष्य) 19 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध; मित्र, बल) 20 भक्षाली*, 21 मङ्गकूल, 22 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 23 ब्रह्माव, 24 संस्त्रीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 बर्ज, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माडर, 30 पायेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आबय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ) 37 कूलात्सवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयिनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार, 45 क्षिणापय, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षस्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुद्धि)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगराद्बुद्धिप्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गाणे पक्ष्मलिप्यसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौरादि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेह लिखितं चित्रं मनेनिप्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुद्धि comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सन which is equivalent to निन्दन or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्य which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुद्धि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्याद्बुद्धिप्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ पथ्य-व्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिवृत्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुद्धि comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ज. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुद्धि is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अध्यायः, व्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vart :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवक्षः or कौरवैः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरैः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हसितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिषदाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधान् मातिपरिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आर्यिकः "born in कश्मिकाः." So also माहिविकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, and would have otherwise taken डम् by IV. 2. 119. Thus ऐक्षकः "born in ऐक्षकु" ॥ The word ऐषे is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो ह्रस्वादिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debarb बुम् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes बुम् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्ण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अ-
नुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अज्झाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलुतर (कुलून) 16 इकुल

मनुष्यतत्त्वयोर्बुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्त्वयोः बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये च जातसौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix बुम् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छका बूडा ॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्, सैन्धविका बूडा ॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गोः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः ॥

अपदातो साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातो-साल्वात्-(बुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपशतावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये साल्वाद्वाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix बुम् comes after the word साल्वा in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्वा which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken बु by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वाको मनुष्यः, साल्वाकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् &c. But साल्वाः पशति व्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वोश्च जातसौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वाद्वाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैथिकः ॥

136. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्वा, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सालुको गौः "the cows born in Salva". सालुका खवातुः 'the barley gruel of Sálva'. In other cases we have सालुम् ॥

गर्तौत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तौत्तरपरादेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word वेष्टे is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes डम् and त्रिप् of sūtra 117 ante. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, वृगालगर्तीयम्, इवाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यम-अयं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रय औदीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतस् occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनतीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words देण् &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देणकीयम्, देवकीयम्, औत्तरपरकीयम्, प्रास्त्यकीयम्, अथ्यकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 राह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्यमन्धर्मव्याण् चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधमशाख, 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानमान*, 17 एकमान, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इष्टम, 21 इष्टुनीक (इष्टुनी) 22 अवस्थ्यन्दन (अवस्थ्यन्ती and अवस्कन्द) 23 कामप्रद्वय, 24 खाडायन (खाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि) 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमिजि*, 28 सौशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 देवशर्षि (देवशर्षन्) 31 औति, 32 आर्हिसि, 33 आनिजि, 34 व्याडि, 35 वैजि (वैरजि), 36 आभ्यधि, 37 आ-वृक्षाधि, 38 शौक्ति, 39 आग्निशर्षि, (अग्निशर्षन्) 40 औजि, 41 वाराटक (वाराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षेमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आभ्यस्थि, 45 औद्ग्रामहानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्द्वि*, 48 हस्तप्र*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्रम*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसौर्लोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेषुकारि-यच्छण्, 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादेशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटयोषीयम्, कटपल्लीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारस्थान्तदेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तसोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-सोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्येवमन्तात् सकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having स as its penultimate,

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण्^० Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—मारोहणकीयम्, द्वौघणकीयम् ॥ इकः—आभ्यपथिकीयम्, शास्त्रनिकीयम् । सोपधात्—कौटिलिखीयम्, आयोमुखीयम् ॥

Vart:--The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in रुक् ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थापुत्तरपदशेषवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाश् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vridhdha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and जिद् of 117 ante Thus शशिकन्धीयम्, माहिकिकन्धीयम्, शशिकपलीयम्, माहिकिकपलीयम्, शशिनगरीयम्, माहिकिनगरीयम्, शशिमामीयम्, माहिकिमामीयम्, शशिकहरीयम्, माहिकिकहरीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाश् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा अमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाश् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाऽमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजशेषवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्काणम्, गणम् &c.

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-
खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः चकाराच्छञ्च ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word हेतो ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vriddha, as they belong to Tyadād class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-1-अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV. 3. 2) = यौष्माक युष्मद्-1-छ = युष्मद्-1-ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-1-खञ् = युष्माक-1-ईन (IV. 3. 2.) = यौष्माकी नः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः, and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्विद्व्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्नाभि अणि च युष्मदस्मदोः योऽप्यासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावोदशी भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खाम्नि युष्मदस्मदोयुष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खम् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीण, आस्माकीनः with खम्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मदस्मदस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खाम्नि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खम् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me," तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will खरीयः, मरीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धोद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्धे in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्धम् 'belonging to half.'

Vart. — When it has a prior term the affix डम् is used. As बालियार्द्धिकम्, (बल्यर्थवस्तु = बालियं) ॥ गौतमार्द्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाध्व ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाध्वार्धाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhamā', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवराद्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परावराधनोत्तमेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपश्चाद् ठञ् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्धं preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपश्चादुठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पश्चात्-ठञ्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपश्चादर्थान्तात्मातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अञ् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धे च पौर्वाधिक्य, दक्षिणार्धे च or दक्षिणार्धिक्य ॥

The word पर is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and लग्नप्राप्तः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादुठञ्चौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञ्चौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपश्चादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकादिक्पूर्वपश्चादर्थान्तात्माठञ्चौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ यतोपवाचौ ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपश्चात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इति सप्तम्यार्क ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधाः or पौर्वाधिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वाध्याः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवतः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्षिक्य ॥ अदिद्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्षिक्य ॥ अबोधसौलोपम् ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यम "middlemost".

Vart:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिम "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vart:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवमम्, अधमम् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यशब्दात्सांप्रतिके जातायां प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घे नाति ह्रस्वे पथे काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". मध्ये व्याकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अण्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken वृञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्रं or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैष्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैष्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति वक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैषकम् or द्वैषम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाट्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As काश्मिण्युत्पिण्, त्रैहिपलालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरदः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरदः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दान् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्धे ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिक आद्धं 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दादठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारद सधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्तु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषाभ्याम् विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 *ante*, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुङागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-ठञ् = शौवस्-न-ठञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्थः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्युतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, अद्युतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य क्तुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses:

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठम् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) श्रेष्मम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम्, वौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival', as सावत्सरं फले or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेलम्, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष ण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दार्थेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix ण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाद्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The हक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दसि ठम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि-(ठम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshā' takes the affix ठम् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent, As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावतू ॥ The word क्तु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावतु ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहस्रं सहस्रं हेमन्तिकावतु ॥ The making of two separate Sūtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ चोपस्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन् वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्मुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमन्तम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेव्ययेभ्यस्त्युत्थुलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-त्यु-त्थुलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यश्च दुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुपरारिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य छन्दसि गलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चादुमच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes त्यु and थुल and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-त्यु = सायं-तुद्-त्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root स by adding the affix चम् ॥ It always ends in म् when these affixes are added. The word चिरं always ends in म् ॥ प्राहणे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषातनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vart:—The affix ङ comes after the words चिर, परन् and परारि ॥ As चिरङ्गम्, परङ्गम्, and परारिङ्गम् ॥

Vart:—The ग of प्रग in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ङ, as, प्रङ्गम् ॥

Vart:—The affix डिमश् comes after अम, आदि and पश्चाद्; as, अमिमम्, आदिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vart:—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

The difference between त्नु and त्नुल is in accent, Thus सायन्तेन and सायन्तन, चिरन्तेन and चिरन्तन, प्राहणन्तेन and प्राहणन्तन, प्रगेन्तेन, प्रगन्तेन, दिवान्तेन and दिवान्तन, शेषान्तेन and शेषान्तन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाङ्गापराङ्गाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाङ्ग-अपराङ्गाभ्याम्-
(दुच-दुचलौ-तुद्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा दुचदुचलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, स्तुद् च तथोरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाङ्ग and अपराङ्ग, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल् and their augment is स्तुद् ॥

In the alternative उम् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णन्तेनम्, अपराह्णन्तेनम् with त्नु, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with त्नां. With त्नुल we have पूर्वाह्णन्तेन and अपराह्णन्तेन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णन्तेन or पूर्वाह्णन्तः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो घाव्यश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्त्यश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रेति तत्रमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्मते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. च &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुप्तेजातः = सुप् + अण् = लौप्तः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udaṇa'.

शङ्खियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), ग्राम्यः (IV. 2. 94), माभीणः (IV. 2. 94), काच्यकः (IV. 2. 95) औम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद्वाब्बास्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरद्वद्वाब्बास्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्भाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका मुग्धाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debar's the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(वुन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix वुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debar's अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्याकः or आमावास्यः ॥ This affix वुन् is applied to the word अमावास्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वान् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the वुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावास्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दापकराशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhādi class and takes अण् and वुञ् IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sūtra debar's these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सिन्धवैः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफलगुन्यनुराधास्वतितित्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाशुक्लल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फलगुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तित्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अषाढा-शुक्ल-ल्लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुक् भवति ॥
शास्त्रकर्म ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारेवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां टानी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविष्टाषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविष्टासु जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also फल्गुनीः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहूलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिको ॥

Vart.—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revati and Rohiṇi, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vart.—The affixes इ and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी^३ and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी^३ (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart.—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As आविष्टीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दसंखरशालशब्दज्ञातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजित्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit' 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक्^c or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are bot to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुम्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

* Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सममीसमर्थान् कृतार्थित्वेयु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus सौम्यः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words मायुरः, राट्टियः ॥

प्रायःभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रायः-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सममीसमर्थान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus सौम्यः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = बुद्धे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also मायुरः, राट्टियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनि-स्थभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानुपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः सममीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

* This debars अण् ऌ. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सममीसमर्थान् ज्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुग्रे संभवति = सौग्रे: 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तुत्र is understood here also.

कोशाङ्गदम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशाङ्गदम् दम् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दम् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कोशाय वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कोशयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कोशय is however कूट and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्य-दम् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमा-

नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्यः कुन्तलाः 'vernal creepers i. which flower in spring', मैत्र्यः पादलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn". मैत्र्या यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् ॥

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालासि च । सप्तमीसमर्थाल्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकानुप्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उष्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' मेष्मा व्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्त् only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या बुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, बुञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् बुप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभेयम् ॥

45. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars टम् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुष्माः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvini. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्-
(बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां बुप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभेयम् ॥ ऋत्वणोपवादः ॥

46. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words grīṣhma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रीष्मम् or ग्रीष्मकम् सस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादिदमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं वेत्तुं तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month". आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वृत् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसात्, वृत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे वृत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वृत् comes in the sense of 'debt then due.' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the asvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवदुस्त 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलापि-निकाले देयमृणं=कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवदुस्तकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमादुवुञ्च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, वुञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमशब्दाभ्यां वुञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix वुञ्च comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīṣma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मदेयमृणं=ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुञ्च would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वत्सम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् ठञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरास्फुलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ्च also (as well as वुञ्च) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrâhâyanî' in the sense of 'debt-due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं=संवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ।

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अ when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ठञ्च when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरतिमृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरतिमृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमर्थात्प्रातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययं भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः=नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." S also प्राशेषः or प्राशेषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say *सृग्*: 'a beast'? Observe *निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः* ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word *व्याहरति* also means 'to make noise.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकास्थेति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं सोढञ्चेत्तद्वति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word *कालात्* is understood here also. *तद्*=that: *सोढम्*=*जितम्* or *अभ्यस्तं* "endured or habituated". Thus *निशा सहचरितमभ्यननं*=*निशा* "reading by night". *तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य*=*नैशः* or *नैशिकः* 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So *प्राशेषिकः* or *प्राशेषः* ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकाङ्गव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The *anuvṛtti* of *कालात्* ceases. The sense of *भव* here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra *तच्च जातः* (IV. 3. 25). Thus, *सुप्ते भवः*=*सौप्तः* "who stays in Sṛughna". *माथुरः*, *राष्ट्रियः* ॥

The repetition of *तच्च* in the sūtra though its *anuvṛtti* could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the *anuvṛtti* of *तदस्य* ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उक्तास्तंज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix *यत्* comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems *दिक्* &c.

This debars *अण्* and *छ* ॥ As *दिशि भवः*=*दिश्यम्* 'lying in a particular quarter', *वर्ग्यम्* ॥

The words *मुख* and *जघन* which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As *सेनामुख्यं* 'who stays in the van of the army'. *सेनाजघन्य* 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उक्कया = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औक्को मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिग्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूरा, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाट्य (धाट्या) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथि-
त्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 वेश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन. 20
मेघ, 21 यूय, 22 उक्कात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वेश, 25 वेश (विश) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28
अनुवंशः ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् प्रत्यययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भव = दन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कार्यम्, ओष्ठ्याम् ॥ So also पादे भव = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भव = नस्यम् ॥

दतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-
स्ति-अहेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृष्ट्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'driti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus शर्तैयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and अहियम् ॥ अहियम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिभीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्दञ्च, तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grīva' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भव = ग्रवेयम् or ग्रैयम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराभ्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दात् भ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चअनेभ्योति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ऽयो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix भ्य comes in the sense of 'who stay there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vārt:—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, देव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

Vārt:—The affix ñya comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि वृत्तानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (उच्यः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकान् प्रातिपदिकाच्च उच्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix उच्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ The affix उच्य however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapāṭha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = परिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहन्ध्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पयोष्ठ, 4 पशुल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसार, 8 अनुसार, 9 उपसार, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाप, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुशुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाल, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदादुच्य ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- उच्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादिष्वेव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावादुच्य प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दादुच्य वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तदादेश ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च उच्य वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥

वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मान् ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयो च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यो ॥

वा० ॥ अजिनास्ताच्च ॥

वा० ॥ स्थाम्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

Kārikā

समानस्य तदादेश अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्ट्यते ।

ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च रेखाच्च लोकोत्तरपदाच्च च ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुग्जनस्य परस्य च ॥

ईयः कार्योय मध्यस्य मण्मीयो प्रत्ययो तथा ॥

मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मास्थाम्नो लुगजिनास्ताच्च ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix उच्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेदिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम् ॥

Vart :—The affix उच् comes after समान, as समाने भवे = सामानिकम् ॥

Vart :—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानग्रामिकम्, सामान देशिकं.

Vart :—So also after the words अध्यात्म, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart :—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वन्मिकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vart :—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vart :—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term ; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vart :—The words मुख and पार्श्व ending in त्स, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

Vart :—So, also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vart :—So also the affix निनष् (निनष् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it becomes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपगायति ॥

Vart :—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थाप, as, अभ्यवस्थामा ॥

Vart :—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहाजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दान्ताव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाद् उच् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix उच् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिग्रामिकः, आनुग्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलङ्गुलेदङ् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुले- दङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दादङ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix दङ् in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गशब्दान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवाहः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गायम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । शब्दादन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां यत्खौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्ग्यः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥
पिछिरवर्ग्यः 'वर्गीणः' or 'वर्गीयः' ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; s कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs here', after 'karṇa' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament,? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यम् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाव्याख्यानेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम् ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तच्चभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपा धेन्यः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Tainga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तव्यः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भव &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशिला is a modal giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛtiti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtiti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादुठञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् उठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकान्तोदात्ताद्व्याख्यानयोष्ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix उठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus वाखणाखिकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals बखणख and नतानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौषम्, तैङ्गम् &c. A word of two syllables will take उठञ् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe संहिताम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (उठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोर्धयोष्ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix उठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajna.

This debarb अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निहोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अज्ञायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दाः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः षष्ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always in Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रिकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmītra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् घृन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-घृन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दात्पुरोडाशशब्दाच्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः घृन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix घृन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauroḍāsa' and 'puroḍasa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः शब्दाद्भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्दणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars ढक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

द्वयजृद्धब्राह्मणकेप्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्यातांद् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयच-
 ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and ठम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—हेष्टिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्रार्थमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars ठम्, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पादव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिन्ति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दोवि-
 जिनी 25 व्याय. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्राहगतः = सौजनः 'what has come from Srugha'. नाथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वाभिधाद्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रा-
 तिपदिकेभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word **आय** means 'what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of **आय** is called **आयस्थान** ॥

This debars **अण्** and **छ** ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्यवमारिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words **शुण्डिक** &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of **अण्** serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधक-बाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix **बुञ्** comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called **विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः** ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix **बुञ्**. This debars **अण्** and **छ**. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम् = औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतष्टुञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix **ठञ्** comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short **ऋ**, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars **बुञ्** ॥ Thus होतुरागतम् = होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' ऋकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वासृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The **त्** in **ऋत्** is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being such word ending in long **ऋ** ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति अकारादृञ्च तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as ढञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्गवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्गवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्गवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्ग are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix डुम् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्गः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendant of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम् चारायणकम् (formed by डुम् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैद्, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), अरणेभ्यो धमवत् (IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of mer

देवदत्तकृत्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तकृत्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svapavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in 3. 23 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च ॥

चिः ॥ हेतुभ्यां मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The इ of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by इत् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 9) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां प्रत्ययवदौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् व्याप्नोति पदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means 'what manifests itself, or appears for the first time'. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हिमवती 'The Haimavati', a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी 'The Dārādī' i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूरादुच्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-उच्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरादुच्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

बालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तदिति विदूराद्व्याप्तिवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः** 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called **वालवाय** ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to **वालवाय**, where the latter word is replaced by **विदूर**; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jityarî.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विं द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्था येन स भवति दूता वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus **सुगन्धगच्छति = सौघः** 'a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna.' So also **मायुरः** ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna be used for going.

Why do we say **पथिदूतयोः** "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe **सुगन्धं गच्छति सार्थः** 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यन् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus **सौघः** 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kānyakubja. So also **मायुरम्, राट्टियम्** ॥

Objection. The sūtra would have stood better as **अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं**, for by using **अभिनिष्क्रामति**, you make the word **द्वारं** as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (**करण**) to the action of **अभिनिष्क्रमण**; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as **साधसिञ्छनति** 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुप्रमभिनिष्क्रमति रूपः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-मन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधिकृत्य कृतश्चेतस्मिन्मर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं मन्थये-
त्त भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तुबाख्यायिकार्थस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus तुभेन्द्रामधिकृत्य कृतमन्थः = सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadrâ.' So also गौरिमित्रः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say मन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, तुभेन्द्रामधिकृत्यकृतः ॥ सादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadrâ'; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवस्तामधिकृत्य कृता ऽऽ ख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता "Vâsavadattâ, a story relating to Vâsavadattâ." सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as मरथी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसभङ्गन्द्रेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-
भ-ङ्ग-न्द्रे-न्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे ॥ अणोपवाहः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word लृप् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते मन्थे should be read into the ūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama.' A Dvandva-Compound: स, अभिराक्षसीयः, इत्येकपदीयः, राक्षसार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are âkritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds वासुर &c. As देवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षसुरम् ॥

The words सिधुक्रन् and ब्रमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं निवासश्चेत् भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुष्मो निवासोऽस्य = सौष्मः 'a present dweller of Srughna', मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्यत्र । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत् भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौष्मः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तार्थ्यं चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनदस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛdgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्चीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe आक्षोषा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ङ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवाहः ॥

92. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ङ्गञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अङ्ग-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणौ प्रत्ययो भवतः सोप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अङ्ग and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सिन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-adi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of वुष् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्गरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 वरद् (वर), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वात्सोद्गरण, 3 कैमैतुर (कौमैतुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्डक्छण्डङ्ग्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढङ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूयादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्य चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढङ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोप्त्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवाहः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढङ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तूदीयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कूचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थमाप्तवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति त्रयमासमर्थवत्येति षड्व-यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, त्रयमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्यवति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus बुधो भक्तिरस्य = सौधुः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also माधुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालादठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादचित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये;
अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अपूपामक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाश्वलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौधुः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe मेर्द्धः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजादठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुन् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुन्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word बाबुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति भस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves & Gluchukāyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः, साहेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो विनरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥

जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुष् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgās' Similarly बाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः, पौन्यकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया, भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुष्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Aṅgās'. So बाङ्गकः, सौम्यकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe, पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पाञ्चालः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः. The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrâs' as well as 'the country called Madrâs'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वाड्यं (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वाड्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वाड्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrâja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrâja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As बाङ्गः or बाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य बाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोक्तं वृत्तीयासमर्थप्रोक्तमित्यस्मिन्मये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकट्येनाक्त 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृत

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्येन कृता माधुरेण प्रोक्ता = माधुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini' भाषिणश्च, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृतं) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्तं) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose author is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्ता is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्तं is formed by adding प्र to वक्ष् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kālāpa &c. For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्तं काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and भावकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as माधुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उखात्-छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्यतस्मिन्वचये । अणोपवाहः ॥
शाक्तिकम् ॥ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्वसीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेऽछन्वेधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयतेष्व्यते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तुषीयाः, खण्डिकीयाः, औरखीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्
ऋषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकाशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-
स्यापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इहानीम्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यप-
प्रोक्त = काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च ये वाचकाः शास्त्रास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

Kārika

हरिद्वरेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुम्बुरुः ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥

भालम्बिभरकः प्राच्यां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।

कृत्वाभारुणिताण्डशाश्च मल्लमीयाकयोऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उहीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyaṇa,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpâ : as, हरिद्वुः, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyaṇa : as, भालम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कृत्वाभ, भारुणि, ताण्ड्य, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्वविजः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru,' तम्बुरुविजः, भालपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ भालम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आच्छाभिः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyaṇa, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyaṇa' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍgāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix **णिनि** would have been applied to **खाडायन** also. But that is not the case, Khāḍgāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word **चरकः** means वैशम्पायनः, hence **चरकाः** means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थाद्योक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यद्योक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix **णिनि** comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. **पुराण** means 'Ancient Sages,' equivalent to **पुरातन**. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाखायनिनः, एतेरायणः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैङ्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say **पुराणप्रोक्तेषु** 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe **याज्ञवल्क्यानं ब्राह्मणानि**, आदिरयः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The **तद्** **विषय** affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word **ब्राह्मण** in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to **पुराणप्रोक्त** of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाणो-रपवादः ॥

106. The affix **णिनि** comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after the words **शौनक** &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe **शौनकीया शिक्षा** 'the orthography of Śaunaka.'

The word **कठशाठ** occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word **कठ** the affix is elided IV. 3. 107). Thus **कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते** = **काठशाठिनः** ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शाङ्गिरव, 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शापेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाथ)
4 तल*, 15 हण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गिरव, 19 स्कन्ध,
20 देवदर्शन, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । कठशब्दवैशम्पायनान्तेवासीभ्य इति णिन् चरकशब्दादप्यणः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Kāṭha and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kāṭha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठाः चरकाः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासित्वाण्णिरपवाप्तिक् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सत्रद्व्यचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुयुमित्ततलजाजालजाङ्गलिलाङ्गलिशालालिशलिङ्सूकरसप्तसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the word enounced by Kalâpî'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vārtika.

Vārtā:—The टि portion of the following words is elided when Taddhita follows :—सत्रद्व्यचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुयुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसप्तन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो द्विभुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-द्विभुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्शब्दाद् द्विभुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासित्वाण्णिर्न पवादः ॥

109. The affix द्विभुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छगलेयनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न द्विभुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्-
निषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Śilālin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not द्विभुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य+णिनि=पाराशर+णिनि (VI. 4. 152)=पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailālin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वाश्चक्ष्माभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa Sûtra of Kriśâśvin.' Otherwise कर्मन्त्रकम् and कर्शाश्चम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थोद्वेकविगित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i.e. a common direction. Thus इशाम्ना एकदिक् = सौराष्ट्रमी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हेमवती, त्रैककुटी, पैलुमूनी ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस्य

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकविगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण पादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरं प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् & च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवत् 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुवूलतः, सुवामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिश्च, तेनैकविगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकविग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थानुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम् आपिशलम् हुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यन्त्रोपायानां गौरवं लाघव चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskaraṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term हुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थानुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हेकुपाशे ग्रन्थः, भैकुरादौ ग्रन्थः, जालुकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थाकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैतत्संज्ञायाम् ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारघम्, पौलिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सारघा and पुलिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण् = मक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारु-उकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सैरिन्ध्र (सेरिन्ध्र), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुह, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपाद् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपाद्, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vâṭara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थविशमित्यतस्मिन् षडे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः । पादवच्च प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ वहेस्तुराण्ड च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः क्षणे रणं भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधामाधनिषेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes घ &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिङ् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपाराण् ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्थानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vārt.:—The verb वह takes तृ (तृण and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, संबोद्धः स्वं = सांवहिकम् ॥

Vārt.:—The affix रञ् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As अग्नीधम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vārt.:—The affix 'shenyaṇ' comes after सामधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेनो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलभ्यो यद्विधावति तदन्तविधिरुपसंखयायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येह = रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथम्, उत्तमरथम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्यशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आद्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्ध रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal like camel. It is formed by the affix ष्टु (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाभ्यप्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अच् is added.

This debars अच् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अच् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अद्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आद्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गर्दिभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीरादठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हलिकम्, सिरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्संज्ञाद्-वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । ऽणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अच् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाध्न्यशालङ्कायनिका, काकोलू-केका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अन्विभरद्वाजिका, कुसकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ तस्योऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्वुम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-वुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणात्वाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुम्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

126. The affix वुम् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अच् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—गौषुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'. So also कालापकम्, मोदकम्, पैपलादकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेऽव्यभिचामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणे-षु-अङ्-यङ्-इङ्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वमन्ताद् यमन्ताद् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येह निश्चितस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वृत्तोऽपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अङ्, यङ् or इङ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars वृत् of the last aphorism.

Vart :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अमन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—वैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यमन्तात् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) "a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyaś". इमन्तात् (IV. 1. 95)—शक्ति + अण् = शक्तः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अङ्, यङ् or इङ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15), Thus वैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंसश्चान् in compound (VI. 3. 39), as, वैदी विद्याऽस्य = वैदीविद्याः i. e. विद्वानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा अस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशास्त्रं वादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाणप्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वृजो-
त्वादः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वृज् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनदाञ्ज्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-
याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नदात्, ङ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽङ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्ये-
तस्मिन्विषये । वृजणोरपवादः ॥

129. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvṛitti of संघ &c ceases. The ङ्य debars अण् and वृज् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्मात्मनाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ म्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhândoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोग कुलम् 'the family of Chhândoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वृज् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वृज् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil,' and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of indentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic, i. e. a mere beginner. The s changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kārīkā, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus णः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi.' माहका. ॥ So also गौकशी माणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require हुम् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिरीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिरी, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीवि (गौरमीव), 5 औदमेधि (औदमेधि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रबुद्धौपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars हुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रबुद्धौपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars हुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्ना-योवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्मान्नाययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2. 92 &c). such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अण् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udātta on the first syllable, for an anudāttādi will have अण् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अदमन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are ādyudātta owing to निन् accent. Thus अदमनो विकारः=अदमनः ॥ The टि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vārt) As आदमः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादिकारि च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कपोतः (IV.3.154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरिः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वश्च 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्षः, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kārīra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमण्मयवोरपवाकः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अण् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word मवेधूकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 पुत्र, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पारसी, 12 कर्कट, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपवाहः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम्. Thus तर्कु तर्कवम्, तिस्तिडीक, तैस्तिडीक; माण्डूकम्, हार्दूकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तिस्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

अपुजतुनोः पुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-पुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुजतुशाब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्स्त्वन्नियोगेन तयोः पुगागमो भवति । अत्रोपवाहः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment पुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). As, अपुजो विकारः = चापुजम्; जतुषम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरश्च ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवाहः ॥

139. The affix अश्च comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus ऐवहारवम्, भाद्रहारवम् ॥ The words ऐवहार and भाद्रहार are ādy-udātta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतद्रव्यार्थानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेश्च, च (अश्च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेश्च प्रातिपदिकादश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपवाहः ॥

140. The affix अश्च comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus ह्यधित्थम्, कापित्थम्, माहित्थम् ॥ The word ह्यधित्थम् is an upapada-samāsa of ह्यधि + त्थ, the स being changed to त् ; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतित्तर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अश्च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खदिरम् or खदिरम्, द्यावासम् or द्यावासम् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिक्षापा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta- vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिक्षापा, 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 क्षीरीय, 8 द्यावास, 9 विकटवृक्षः.

शम्यादलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-दलञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् दलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अमोपवादः ॥

142. The affix दलञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म, शामीली लुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-वा-एतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथावयव प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तिषु ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अन्नमयम् or आश्मनम् (IV. 3. 134) मृगमयम् or मौर्यम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness बैल्यः खादिरौ वा वृषः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मीनः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 135), मोहमयम् or मोहम् ॥

नित्यं वृक्षशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृक्ष-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायां नभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृक्षेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरविकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vridhdha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vridhdha—आन्नमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :—
शरमयम्, हर्भमयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्यः in the sūtra. Thus, स्वङ् मयम्, स्रङ् मयम्, बाह् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्भ, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (बल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. 'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं=milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पेटी सुरा in the sense of तस्यैवम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारि संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवादः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणान्मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । विल्याद्यणोपवादः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus ब्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रेहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावकिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचक्षुन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचक्षुः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचक्षुः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143: Thus पर्णमयः, दर्भमयः, शरमयः in the following यस्य पर्णमयी जहूर्भवति, दर्भमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बहिर् भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्वर्द्धबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-बिल्वात् (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद् वर्द्धबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिष्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्ध्री बालप्रमथिता भवति; वेत्स्यो ब्रह्मवर्चसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्त्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यध्याना ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words ending in उ, but also to words having उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words ending in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणवी यष्टिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is Ady-udatta by नृणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुद् (नृभाक्षितः, मोमुद्च U. I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अम् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गौर्मुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एते गर्भे चरुं निर्धयेत् ॥ The word चरुं is ādy-udatta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिङ्गम् ॥

1 तालाङ्गनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिङ्ग, 4 इन्द्राङ्गुश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 इया-माक, 8 पीयूषा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus हाटको निष्कः, हाटकं कार्षापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताप-मीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यद्विरियं हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणारी-नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—कापोलम्, मायूरम्, तैगिरम्, राजतम्, सैलम्, लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 वसुम्बर, 5 नीप (मीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-भीतक, 9 पीतशर (कपीत, शर), 10 सीत्रशर, 11 विजयशर, 12 मयूरशर

जितञ्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्येव । तसि विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्यवमर्शः । मिथोपिकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तद्वन्तात्प्रातिपद्विकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरैव । मयदोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ् denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) वुञ् (IV. 3. 157), डञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus देवशरवस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = देवशरवम्; so also शशित्थम्, पालाशम्, शमीलम्, कापोतम् भौष्ट्रकम्, ऐण्यम्, कांस्यम्, पारशवम् ॥

Why do we say जितः? Witness बैल्वमयं. Here मयद् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV. 3. 136. So also बैल्वमयम् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्वतेष्टमित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारोऽतद्विद्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debar अण् &c. Thus निष्क्रमे क्रीतञ् = नैष्क्रिकम् (V. 1. 10); It will denote vikâra also, निष्क्रमस्य विकारः = नैष्क्रिकः formed by टक् (V. 1. 10). As शतेनक्रीतं = शत्यं or शतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शत्यः or शतिकः by टन् and यन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं = साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः = साहस्रः V. 1. 27 by अण् ॥

The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्क्रमः or द्विनैष्क्रिकः ॥ The word परिमाण in his sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्रावुष्ट्रञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुष्ट्रञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रावुष्ट्रञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभ्योपवादः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra'.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकम् ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादुर्णाशब्दाच्च वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words **उमा** and **ऊर्णा**.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word **एणी** ॥

Thus ऐण्यं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अञ्** ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words **गो** and **पयस्** ॥

Thus गय्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यस्यत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरभोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रुय्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रुवयम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरल्पस्य फले लक्षणे विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus-आमलक्याः फले = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वदरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

पुक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । पुक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अ-
भ्योपवाहः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अम् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, नैद्यमोधम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यमोध, 3 अभ्यस्थ, 4 इङ्गुली, 5 शिमु, 6 रुरु, 7 कक्षतु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु कक्षतु)
8 वृक्षती. ॥

जम्बु वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्बुः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बुशब्दात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अभ्योपवाहः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु + अम् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्बुः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । युक्तवद्भावे विशेषः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु + अम्लुप् = जम्बुः, as, जम्बुः फले ॥ Optionally जम्बुः फले = जम्बु फले, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vart. :—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, बवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vart. :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मातृकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका आदिः ; so also विहार्या मूलं = विहारी ॥ अशुमती वृक्षती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पादलानि पुष्पाणि, शालानि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैल्लानि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने शुक्तवङ्गादेः क्षीप्रप्रत्ययभ्रवणे च विहायः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं=हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कौशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 वाडी, 6 होडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 ब्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा) 12 गभीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्ठकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालका, 17 वडी ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्-अञौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राकृक्तीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां ययासंख्यं य-अञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनिधौगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोरुल्लुं भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansiya' and 'parasavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. I. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. I. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्यः so also पारशव from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = पारशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + वृ is added the affix ङ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and ङ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकात् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But स and उ are added to a Dhātu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word परावाच्य being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अम् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अम् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of केशीय and परावाच्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-वहतेः, ठक् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागंतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनाद्यानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रस-
 यस्तेषुधिक्तो वेदितव्यः ॥
 वार्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोते माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥
 वा० ॥ आहोप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतो सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतो परवारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered.'" Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus भक्षे दीव्यति = आशिक्षः "who plays with aksha—a dicer भक्ष + ठक् = आशिक्षः (VII. 3. 50).

Vārt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhāk' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य शब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vārt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः पार्श्वान्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vārt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौख्यराजिकः, सौख्यशायनिकः ॥

Vārt:—So also after परवारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परवारान् गच्छति = पारवारिकः, गौहस्तम्भिक ॥ The word तत्प here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति . जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्पाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैरीव्यति = आशिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥
अभ्या खनति = आशिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आशिकः, अक्षैर्जितं = आशिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आशिकौ and आशिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षैरीव्यत् will give also आशिकः; so also आशिकस्त्वम् आशिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थसंस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = राधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, गारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दास्कारोपधाच्छब्दाद्ये प्रातिपदिकारणं प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ।
ठकोपधादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, शर्दभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by-
over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेमतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औहुषिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाद्-ठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छाद्-ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवाहः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus नौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्टन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौद्वयचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौद्वयाद्-ठञ् प्रातिपदिकाद्-ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवाहः ॥

Kārika

आकर्षात्पदिभञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

अवाप्तयात्किञ्चारादिभ्यः षड्ते ठगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, घटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in छन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, ह्रीस्तकः 'who travels by an elephant' शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षाद्-ष्ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवाहः ॥

9. The affix ष्टल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof' after the word 'ākārsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ण् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of ष्टल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्यादिभञ्जादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, अवाप्तयात्

किन्नरैः पितः षडेते ढगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक f. आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्यादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्यादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्य इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष् for डीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पार्षकः f. पार्षिकी, अश्विकः f. अश्विकी ॥ पारिकः f. पारिकी ॥ The पाश् is changed to पश् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्य, 2 अभ्य, 3 अभ्यर्थ, 4 रथ, 5 आल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पाश् पश् ॥

श्वगणाद्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणान्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारान् छन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वगणिकः 'who lives by dogs', f. श्वगणिकी ॥ ठन्, श्वगणिकः f. श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before ञ् in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

• वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयात्मनर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound, Thus धानुर्दण्डकः, धानुष्कः, शण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनर्दण्डः 5 आल, 6 वेष्ट (वेस्), 7 उपवेष्ट (उपवेष्, उपवेस्), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनि-
षद्, 14 उपवेष्ट, 15 स्किञ्* (स्किञ्), 16 वाह, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान. 19 उपहस्त*, 20 शङ्खः ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयाद्ठञ् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थ्याभ्यां ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hire-ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठञ् जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठञ् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठञ्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्साङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत्), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुट*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडपः .

भस्त्रादिभ्यः घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix घञ् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरतिक् : f. भरतिकी ॥ The

word **बल्ल** means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 **बल्ला**, 2 **भरद**, 3 **भरण** (**भारण**), 4 **शीर्षभार**, 5 **शीर्षभार**, 6 **अंसभार**, 7 **अंसभार** ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

'वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थार्थ्यां विभाषा छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix **छन्** comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vivadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix **ठक्** will apply. Thus **विवधेन हरति** = **विवधिकः** f. **विवधिकी** ; So also **वीवधेन हरति** = **वीवधिकः** f. **वीवधिकी** ॥ When the affix is **ठक्**, we have **वैवधिकः** in both cases, the feminine being **वैवधिकी** ॥

The word **विवध** and **वीवध** are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' **विवधिकः** meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is **विभाषा विवधान्**, the Kāsikā has added **वीवध** from a Vārtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

'वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाशब्दान् तृतीयासमर्थार्थेण प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word **कुटिलिका** in the third case in construction.

Thus **कुटिलिकया हरति मृगा** व्याधं = **कौटिलिको मृगः** 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. **कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गरान्** = **कौटिलिकः कर्मारः** 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word **कुटिलिका** means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, छूतादिभ्यः ॥

'वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षयूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थार्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus **अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम्** = **आक्षयूतिकं वैरम्** 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So **आनुग्रहतिकम्** ॥

1 **अक्षयूत**, 2 **आनुग्रहत** (**प्रहृत**), 3 **अङ्घ्र्याग्रहत** (**प्रहृत**), 4 **अङ्घ्र्याग्रहत***, 5 **पादस्वेदन**, 6 **कण्टकमर्मन**, 7 **गसानुगत***, 8 **गतागत**, 9 **यातोपयात**, 10 **अनुगत** ॥

श्रेर्मलित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्ताइत्येव, त्रितः क्तिरित्ययं त्रिशब्दो गृह्यते । अपन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुवप् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus वप् + त्रि + मप् = पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवप् we have वप् + त्रि + मप् = डात्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15): from डुकृप् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix क्ति never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vārti:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकित्ति निर्वृत्तं = पाकित्यम् (पश् + घञ् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so त्यागित्यम्, सेकित्यम्, कुट्टित्यम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्ताइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो, निर्वृत्ताइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus इन्ना संसृष्ट = शोथिकम् 'smeared with curds.' मारिचिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, पैपालिकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sanskṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपवाहः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णे : संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ पूषा: 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुक् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं. लवणा यवगूः (I. I. 51). The लृक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवाहः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मौद्गे यवाणः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिके ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिके (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = शायिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौपिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतैश्चस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिक 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वेभ्य ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो व
र्त्तत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तत् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्त्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्त्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रति वर्त्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽ स्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97 retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favourable.' प्रतिलोमिक 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थो वर्त्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्त्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गार्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गार्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थो प्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासमर्थं गार्ह्यं यः पश्यति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्धुविभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुण प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रेगुणिकः ॥

Vart:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धि प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्हम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुण प्रयच्छति अधर्मणः 'the debtor gives double'.

**कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्द्यचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्-
द्यचौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्हमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धिः, स्तरर्थे द्रव्यं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशाद्येनो-
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशाब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्ये छन् छञ् इत्येते प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छञ् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'dasaikâdasa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condi-
tion that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥
This sūtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छञ् is in
the accent (VI. I. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + छन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. I.
41). So दशैकादशिकः fem. दशैकादशिकी ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वृत्ति द्वितीयासमर्थानुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the se-
cond case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans
that'.

Thus बह्नानुञ्छति = बाह्रिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. इयमाकिकः, काणिकः ॥
o pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वृत्ति द्वितीयासमर्थानुक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second
case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects
that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by
is presence'. So also सानिवेशिकः ॥

शब्द-द्वर्तुं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-द्वर्तुम, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तादृशे द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां शब्द-द्वर्तुशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking'.

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणे हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. i. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, माशूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, a मात्स्यिकः, भैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, शारणिकः, सौवरिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थश्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तादृशे द्वितीयासमर्थ्यां तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = परिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = परिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थश्च been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुपदम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मायशब्दोत्तरपदातिपदिकात्पत्नी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having माय as its second term, and after the words ‘padavi’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus इण्डमायं धावति = इण्डमायिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also लौकमायिकः ॥ Similarly पार्विकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माय means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दाट्ठक् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्त्येतस्मिन्लियाक्रन्तो वेशः । अथवा ऽऽक्रयतइत्याक्रन्, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्शब्दात्तद्वितीयासमर्थाद्भावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्ठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word ‘âkranda’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द् means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्द् धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदशब्द उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदशब्दान् तद्वितीयासमर्थाद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामशब्देभ्यस्तद्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalâma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and, not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मं चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दाच्चरति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चरति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मन् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माच्चरति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाच्चरति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद्धक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायशब्दाच्चरति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhī (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, साङ्गिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाच्च वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix **ण्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word *senā*.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus *सेनां समवेति* = *जन्यः* or *सैनिकः* 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीशब्दाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalāṭa' and 'kukkuṭi', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus *ललाटं पश्यति* = *ललाटिकः* 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also *कौक्कुटिकः* 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word *कुक्कुटी* ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called *कौक्कुटिकः* ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word *धर्म्यं* means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word *तस्य* shows the case of the word. Thus *शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं* = *शौल्कशालिकः* 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also *आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम्* ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमहिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

48. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word 'mahishi' &c.

This debars *ṭhak*. Thus *महिष्या धर्म्यं* = *माहिषम्* 'the usages of queens.' So *राजावतम्* ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति°, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्पथे । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नराद्येतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुर्ङ्लोपश्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्ङ्लोपश्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोतु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औदात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtri.' Padamanjari gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vārt :—So also after the word नर : As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विशसितु, the इङ् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशाखम् ॥

Vārt :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजिवम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थादवक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थार्थस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्पथमासमर्थं पण्यं चेत्तद्वति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is' whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः &c.

लवणादुठञ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, उठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणादुठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars **ठक्**, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = वणिक्: 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥
तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix **छन्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus शराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिकी (IV. I 41), नैरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशारि, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 ह-
†*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
तिः ॥ शालालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षोपि
ति ॥

54. The affix **छन्** comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salālan'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शालालुकः f. शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative th **ठक्**, शालालुकी; f. शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥
तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पे षष्ठ्यन्तः ॥

55. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्वङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैणिकः ॥

मड्डुकशर्शरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मड्डुक, शर्शरात्, अण्, अन्यत-
स्याम् ॥

तिः ॥ मड्डुकशर्शरादशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and [harj'hara'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्प-
य = मड्डुकः or मड्डुकिः, so शर्शरः and शर्शरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वत्थेत्येव । तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थे इत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे प्रहरणं चे-
त्तद्वति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः धातुक् ॥

परश्वधाद्ठक् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारद्वधिकः or पारद्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरिकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठक्पवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashṭi'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणस्य = शक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वत्थेत्येव । तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो अस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे मतिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nasti' and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. वैदिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called वैदिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थारस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शीलं चे-
न्नवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौक्षिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमारिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषयोऽकोपवारः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-
च्छत्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा°, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कृषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विभवा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अवृत, 15 विशिष्टा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)°, 20 विशा°, 21 क्षु-
क्षा*, 22 मन्त्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थारस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चे-
द्वचमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly त्रैयन्यिकः त्रैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैतान्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अभ्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुच्पूर्वपदादठक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्, पूर्वं पदात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बहुच्पूर्वपदाभ्यातिपादिकाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माभ्ययने वृत्तमित्यतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यभ्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्तिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्तिकः, चतुर्विंशान्तिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udātta, or vice versa.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं, चेत्तद्वति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हित् governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपं भक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदिकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं, तच्च दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आमभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाश्वतिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-ओदनात्, विठन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आणामांसोदनशब्दार्थां विठन् प्रत्ययौ भवति तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ढकोपवाहः ।

67. The affix विठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This विठन् debars ढक् ॥ The इ of वि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between ढक् and विठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ढक् and विठन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ढक् resembles विठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ढक् used instead of विठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix ढक् might have been employed instead of विठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix विठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But ढक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which विठन् does not. Thus ओदन + विठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ढक् the form would have been ओदशनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to भृ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā त् is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is भृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदादि ॥ भक्ताद्-अण-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ढकोपवाहः ॥

68. The affix अण comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ढक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः (ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्राति सप्तमीसमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो अधिकृतो व्याप-
रित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construc-
tion.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.'
So also आकरिकः, आपाणिकः, मौलिकः, सौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tat-
purusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a differ-
ent meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताद्ढक् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ढकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agāra.'

This debars ढक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi.
Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थान्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकावकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ढक् प्रत्ययो
भवति ॥

71. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of "who st-
dies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, de-
noting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is pr-
hibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Th
अमशानेऽधीते = द्माशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पथिकः 'who st-
dies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्विधामधीते = चतुर्विधिकः, 'who reads
the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावास्थिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe बुध्नेऽधीते, पूर्ण-
ऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्ता-
संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थान् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ढक् प्रत्ययो भव
व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ढक् comes, in the sense of "wh
transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kaṭhina'

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वांशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्नेव वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also ब्राधकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikata.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेवैव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for ऊर्ध्व (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्धिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितामिति वक्ष्यति । प्राग्धितस्माद्धितसंज्ञावनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामो यत्प्रत्ययस्ते-
प्राधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥
ध्वः, युग्मः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति द्वितीयात्मनर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथ्य ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढू therefore रथस्य वोढू will get the affix यन् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यन्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यन् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यङ्ढकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यन्-ढकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यन् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवत

77. The affix यन् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यन्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेयः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् य, for यन् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराद्वाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samâsânta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सबधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे लः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुग् भवति ।

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurâ' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samâsânta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादाण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येवम् अण् as शकटस्य वोढ = शकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीराड्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीराशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हलिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहलिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अनी वहति = अन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. अन्याः 'a bridesmaid.' The word अनी means 'bride.' अन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विद्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेन्ननुष्करणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैदाः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लभ् by लृट्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दाच्चरिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दाच्चरिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैद्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परैच्छामगामी ॥

पद्मस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्म-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पद्मशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थाद् दृश्यार्थोपाधिकास्मिन्नाति सप्तम्वर्थे व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद् दृश्यमास्मिन् = पद्मः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्माः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

मूलमस्याबाहिर् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम-अस्य-आबाहिर्-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थाबाहिर्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे व्यत्ययो भवति । मूलमेवामाबाहिर् ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहिर् from वृह् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,' = उन्पाटनं ॥ मूलमेवामाबाहिर् = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. गुणा । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamañjari the word should be आबाहिर् and not आबाहि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञाग्रहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding णक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतवृद्धा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते दशानि ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते अयः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-अयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्संयुक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे अयः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix अय comes in the sense of 'joined with,' after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायां of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्थतुल्यप्राप्यवद्व्यानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्थ-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्व्या-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽष्टभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽष्टत्वेव तार्थादिष्वर्थेषु ययासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्थम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मान्नपेते (IV. 4. 92) No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्व्याः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् 'price' lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root'. The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means अनिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth &c i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्थ्यं 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्थ्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्थ्यं, उन्नमसीत्थ्यं, द्विसीत्थ्यं ॥
8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. समित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prāpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmād anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The anapetam in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the śhishtas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word prāpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वैशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्पथ्य-यो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma', 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् शास्त्रीयान् पथो यद्वनपेतं तन् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' आप्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दास्तुतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प-ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metric or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारायच ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = 'औरस' 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देशः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्यौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋणौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिमहणम् । बद्धते येन त्वबन्धनम् । हृदयस्य शब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान् बन्धने ऋणावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनम् ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्येषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्येषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्त्रिष्वेव करणादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं=मैत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैत्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैत्यः 'ploughed'. So also द्विहत्यः, त्रिहत्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीतादलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सामीप्यार्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामान्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda'. So also वेमन्यः, कमण्यः, शरन्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, प्रायुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 द्वयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुध्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताणः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दात् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=भान्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भान्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दात् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण्य is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः=काथिकः (कथा+ठक्=कथ्+ठक् VI. 4. 148=काथ्+इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकाथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठ विद्, कुष्ठचिन्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सङ्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आद्युर्वेद. ॥

गुडादिभ्यश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudâ' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः=गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्नु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाद, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः=पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाच्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः=सभ्यैः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाच्च दृ प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix **ढ** comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhā,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **य** ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य पुत्रा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दाच्चनेति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे य-
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी=सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

**समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-
च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारभोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः=स-
मानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word
• उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः=सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udātta,
as it was in the last ; the udātta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणादीनां वासीनां
आपवादः ॥

110. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, घ &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेघ्यः and विदुष्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेघ्याय च विदुष्याय च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पाथशब्दानदीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadi,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यन् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः = पाथ्यः, so also नायः ॥ As in the following hymns : तमुखा पाथ्या वृषा, च नो दधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे ॥ पाथ. means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दाद्भिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यन् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यङ्ङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतशब्दाद्विभाषा ड्यङ्ङ्यौ ड्यङ्ङ्यौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यन् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः = स्रोत्यं or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ड् causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यन् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayūtha' and sanuta.'

This debars **यन्** the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus **अनुभ्राता सगर्भः** 'a younger brother'. **अनुसखासग्र्यः** 'a younger friend'. So also **यो नः सनुत्यः उत वा जियन्तु** thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', *sanuta* meaning 'concealed' (see *Rig Veda* II. 31. 9). The word **समान** is always changed into **स** in the *Chhandas* (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घन् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमशब्दात् घन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix **घन्** comes in the *Chhandas* in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, *tugra*.'

This debars **यन्** ॥ Thus **तुमिद्यः** as **त्वमग्ने वृषभस् तुमियाणां** ॥ Which assumes the form **तुमघ** *tugrya* also. As **आवः क्षमम वृषभं तुमपासु** (*Rig Veda* I. 34. 15) *Tugrya* meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word **तुम** means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and *varishṭha*'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The affix **यत्** comes in the *Chhandas* in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus **अग्ने भवं = अग्न्यम्** ॥ Why this separate rule, for **यत्** would have come after **अम** by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that **यत्** is not debarred by **घ** and **छ** of the next *sūtra*, which would have been the case, had this *sūtra* not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमशब्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the *Chhandas* in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus **अग्न्यम्** (by **यत्**), **अग्नीयम्** (by **छ**) and **अग्निर्घम्** (by **घञ्**). And **अग्नीयम्** (by **घञ्**) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (*Śāyana*) **इहत्वष्टारमग्नीयम्** ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दाद् अभ्राद्यद् घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the *Chhandas* in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभ्रियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषि-
जम् and नानदत्तो अभ्रियस्यैव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second
member is an irregularity.

बहिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बहिः शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थान्त्वित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in
construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बहिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणि(यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थान्त्वित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after
the word 'dūta' in the genitive case in construction, in the
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.
As यत्ते अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थान्त्वित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्य and
यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As
याते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनूः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatī', 'jagatī' and
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्येभ्यः, जगत्येभ्यः

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revatt, Jagāti or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the श being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुरस्य 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्ये वा एतत् पानं यद्यकधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्ये हवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्पृष्ठीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वयया कृतसि ॥

तद्वान्नासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-
आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुब्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थादासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तद्वानिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाश्वेत्ता भवन्ति । लुक्-च मतोः इति प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्तत्तद्विधिवशा । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'inatup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मनुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इद् meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वन् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix यत् (मनुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपरधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvân mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्या उपरधाति ॥ So पयस्या, रेतस्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमान् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विशब्दो यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवाहः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvinân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनैरुपरधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मनुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्यानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhâna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मनुप् debars यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मनुप् after मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वैतीरुपवधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvatî bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्धः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वन् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वन्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मनुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मनुप्प्रहितस्मिच्छन्सि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थं विशेषणयोः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थेना ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारेकारेकाश्च वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मनुप् and those having the sense of मनुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासे = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मध्व्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phal-guna (Feb-March) and Vaisākha (April-May). The word मध्व्यः is thus formed:—मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मध्व्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly शोणस्य तनूः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता पात्रेण ष्वरति, here मनुप् is used.

Vart:—The affix यत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माधव्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vart:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. हयो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्धञ्च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुप्राप्त्यान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति अकाराद्यञ्च ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus मध्वः or मध्व्यः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माधवाः, मध्व्या and मधुः meaning सन्तः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शाश्वन्मत्वर्थे यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽह्न्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनम् = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशादेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशासी आदौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशादेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोर्भग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'for tune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशल् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशादेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिरासाय उत्तरार्थम् । अकाराद्यल् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयशा आदेर्भगाद् यत्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभगः, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛtti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वेः कृतमिनयो च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वेः-कृत-इन-यो-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वघट्टात् तृतीयासमर्थाकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन च इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । अकाराद्यल् च ॥

133. The affixes **इन्** and **य** as well as **ख** come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction.

The **ख** is read into the sūtra by force of the word **च**; the anuvṛtti मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वैः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वैः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गन्धीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्वैर्णेभिः ॥ So also, ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्वांसः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः तमिनियौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्वन्, 3rd pl. पूर्वभिः (with इन्), as यिभिः पूर्वभिः, or पूर्वैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् (यन्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यम् 'offering purified with water'. As यत्वेदमप्यं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण समितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-समितौ-घ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्समितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घ-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण समितौ = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां नोर्मयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word समित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दात् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयत्न विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debars the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थादर्हतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमग्रहणं, यथानुवर्तते । मय इति मयङर्थो लङ्यते । सोमशब्दान्मयङर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयङ्गर्था ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82, त्वकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सौम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दो निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दान्मयङर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोक्रान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दात्समूहे ण्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयङर्थे य । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥ वाचिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्यजपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दार्थे यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart:—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्य in the following sentence: "सप्तादक्षाक्षरं छन्दस्यः प्रजापतिवृक्षो मन्वे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; यज, two; ये यज, five; and वषद्, two ॥

Vart:—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As वसोः शरीरस्य बहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यैः = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रशब्दार्थः प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्ये ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रेभ्यः वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम् and प्रक्षिणिदेवतातिर्गुणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तस्मादर्थलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्यतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-form-1 word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So संतातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As याज्ञिः शन्तात्री इयो इगुणुषं (Rig I. 112. 20) संतात्री being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य तारिः; so also अयो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.



